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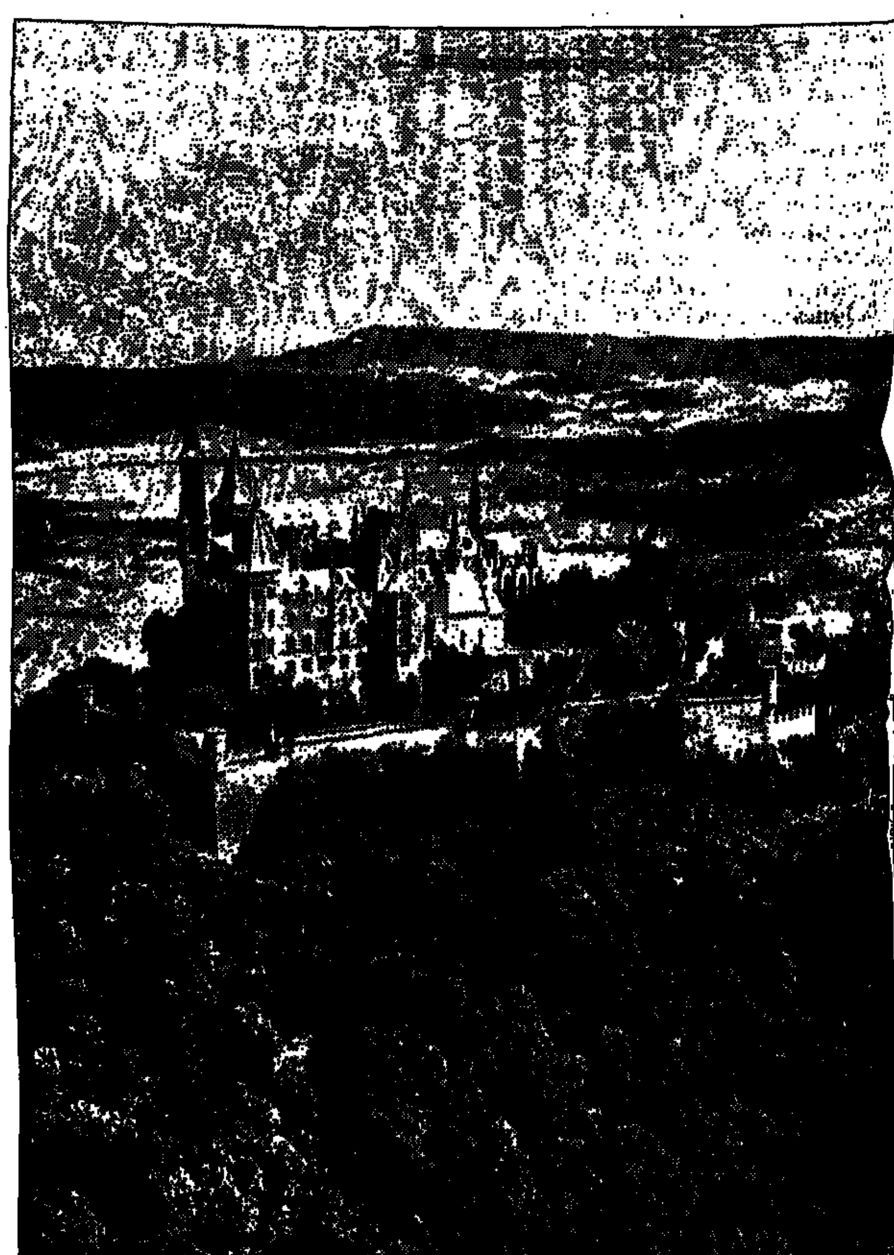
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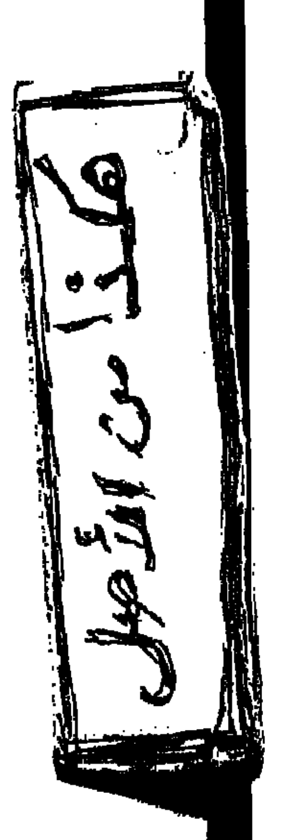


1 View of the Hegau region, near Tuttlingen
2 Heidenheim
3 Nördlingen
4 Urach
5 Hohenzollern Castle

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Spanish referendum ends Nato cliffhanger

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Government and Opposition in Spain escaped by the skin of their teeth when a respectable majority belied referendum forecasts by voting in favour of staying in Nato.

What they escaped was a sad blow to Nato, a domestic crisis and the risk of unpredictable developments.

All praise and congratulations to the Spaniards, a majority of whom refused to stand aloof from Nato. It is harder to find words of praise for the politicians.

It is hardly a masterpiece for the government and pro-Western Opposition forces to play va banque and wager the destiny of Spain and more on a single card solely for the sake of their own alleged credibility.

Credibility was the motive Premier Felipe Gonzalez repeatedly mentioned to justify the Nato referendum. Having failed to keep its election campaign promise to create 800,000 new jobs, Spain's Socialist government felt obliged not to break its word on the Nato referendum.

But what credibility is there in keeping a promise to hold a referendum designed to enable Spain to resign from Nato via a referendum and then achieving the exact opposite?

No politician can afford without good reason, especially after Nato membership has twice been endorsed by Parliament, to paralyse the government and keep the country and the entire Western world on tenterhooks for months.

There is nothing to be said in favour of pro-Nato Opposition parties such as Señor Fraga Iribarne's conservative Popular Alliance, calling on its supporters to abstain with a view to letting the government stew in its own juice and the referendum possibly go against Nato.

Señor Fraga now says his call to abstain was intended to avoid relegating Nato membership to a matter of minor importance, but his decision was reached before the wording of the referendum was known.

Given anti-Nato poll forecasts Señor Gonzalez was prepared for the worst.

Nato would have survived a change on its southern flank, especially as US bases in Spain would have been maintained or even reinforced if Spain had resigned from the North Atlantic pact.

Anti-Nato sentiment was certainly not alone in heeding the example set by Spain.

Maybe a pro-Nato Spanish newspaper was overstating the case when it wrote after the referendum that the country had been on the brink of disaster.

But the only encouraging feature of the breakneck manoeuvre is that Spain's Nato membership has been endorsed both by Parliament and now, narrowly, by a popular referendum.

It is upsetting to imagine what an anti-Nato vote would have cost Spain (apart from a cash outlay of about DM800m). The country would have been torn apart. Anti-Americanism would have been more widespread than ever. Nato would have been taken aback. Fellow-members of the Common Market would have been irked.

The armed forces would have been annoyed. Extreme right-wingers would have gained support, as would the Communists. The Spanish economy would have faltered. Government and Opposition would have been shaken by infighting. The Prime Minister's position would have been endangered.

The majority of "noes" in the Basque country, in Catalonia, Navarre and the Canaries shows how serious the risk was. In all these areas the Nato referendum was used merely as a regional stick with which to beat the central government.

So Spain could easily have voted to resign from Nato merely because a few people or areas wanted to get their own back on Madrid for some disappointment or other.

Señor Gonzalez fought a desperate and impressive last-ditch battle making full use of state-run TV. He was the main reason why the worst was averted in the final days of the referendum campaign.

Painting an appalling picture of the consequences of a "no" vote, he persuaded voters in Socialist strongholds in particular to vote for Nato.

Many Spaniards voted "no" for fear of a nuclear war, yet many others, some at the last minute, voted "yes" for the same reason: fear. They were worried something incalculable might lie ahead for Spain and its young democracy if the

So a reassuring majority intuitively put right the dangerous mistakes politicians had made. The Spanish electorate voted against renewed isolation. So the damage done can be made good.

Lothar Labusch
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 March 1986)

Statesmen from all over the world met in Stockholm for the funeral ceremony for Swedish Premier Olof Palme. Speakers included UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and SPD leader Willy Brandt. Seen here at the ceremony are German Chancellor Helmut Kohl (left), GDR leader Erich Honecker (centre) and US Secretary of State George Shultz (right). See article on page 2. (Photo: dpa)

French voters ring the changes after five years of Socialism

Conservatives and Liberals have regained a majority in the French National Assembly as expected. The Socialists polled over 31 per cent, leaving them still the largest parliamentary party.

The Socialist defeat was not as crushing as had been feared. Initial results showed the Gaullists and followers of M. Giscard d'Estaing to have fallen just short of an absolute majority.

Disregarding Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front, the right-wing parties could only gain an absolute majority with the backing of conservative independents.

It will be up to President Mitterrand to decide how to deal with the situation.

The real surprise of the elections is the showing of the National Front, who performed unexpectedly well to get 33 [illegible] 10 per cent, falls little short of the Communist vote.

Nearly three dozen voluble right-wing extremists in the National Assembly hold forth the promise of a noisy Parliament reminiscent of the Fourth Republic.

The Communists made the best of a bad job. They have eight MPs fewer in the new assembly than in the outgoing parliament, elected in 1981.

French voters rang the changes after five years of socialism. Most polls forecast the swing. The conservative vote is also a slap in the face for François Mitterrand.

It will be the first time a Fifth Republic French President has had to rule with a National Assembly majority against him.

There can be no question of a massive election victory of the Gaullists and supporters of M. Giscard d'Estaing, but M. Mitterrand did say he would resign if the Opposition won an outstanding victory.

All eyes are now fixed on the Elysée Palace, where Socialist Premier Laurent Fabius was expected at the time of writing to tender his resignation.

If hints that President Mitterrand would be quick to appoint a successor prove true, France may have a new government in time for the first post-poll Cabinet meeting on 19 March.

The Socialists have borne their defeat without too much dismay and with confidence in the future. Initial comments by Socialist leaders show them to have gained fresh hope for the next step, preparations for the Presidential elections in two years' time.

As the largest parliamentary party the Socialists have hopes of retaining the Presidency, but no-one can be sure M. Mitterrand will last the distance until 1988 sharing power with a conservative National Assembly majority.

Lutz Hermann
(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 17 March 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Murdered West Bank mayor is another pawn in Palestinian power struggle

Frankfurter Rundschau

Yasser Arafat's "moderate" rump PLO may object in principle to Palestinian notables assuming political responsibility by the grace of Israel in the occupied territories, but Zafer al-Masri, the murdered mayor of Nablus, enjoyed full PLO support.

Appointed mayor of the largest West Bank city, population 100,000, by the Israeli government at the end of last year, he combined three qualities that made him a "dialogue Palestinian par excellence," to quote a diplomat accredited in Amman, the Jordanian capital.

He enjoyed the confidence and respect of the Israelis. He had close ties with the Jordanian monarchy. He was also sufficiently nationalist in outlook as a Palestinian to fully endorse the PLO position after initial hesitation.

The PLO's position is that the Palestinians' right of self-determination and, in theory, to a state of their own must be acknowledged prior to their participation in Middle East peace talks.

But the first of these points was enough for extremists in the Palestinian "dispersion" to dismiss him as a traitor and to execute him like other Palestinians before him who had been prepared to come to terms.

With Jordanian and PLO consent al-Masri, a successful businessman and president of the Nablus chamber of commerce, took on the post of mayor to help his home town to get back on its feet economically after three years of Israeli military administration.

Palestinian extremists at their Damascus headquarters, remote from the realities of everyday life under occupation on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, sat in judgment on him.

They based their judgment on the simple equation "cooperation is collaboration" and sentenced him to death.

His assassination is likely to have brought to an abrupt end Israeli Premier Shimon Peres' concept of "unilateral self-government" as part of which Arab mayors were to be reappointed in a number of West Bank towns.

After the murder of al-Masri no more West Bank Arabs enjoying the full confidence of their fellow-citizens can be expected to take over office at Israel's behest.

The gunfire that killed al-Masri also hit the PLO. In his way the murdered mayor was the kind of West Bank politician the PLO needs if it is to play even an indirect role in the occupied territories.

Flexible he may have been, and ready for dialogue with Israel, but in the final analysis he stood for Palestinian basic principles independent observers agree are regarded as inalienable and indispensable by the overwhelming majority of people in the occupied territories.

These principles, considered indispensable and essential to defend, consist first and foremost of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

King Hussein of Jordan and Mr Arafat have just parted company again on this very issue. King Hussein accused the Palestinian leaders in a three-and-a-half-hour speech of having broken their promises and forfeited credibility.

He conveyed the impression that the PLO leader had declared himself ready to acknowledge UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as a concession to Israel and the United States and had then gone back on his word.

The PLO and independent Palestinians credibly claimed that this had at no stage been the case, although negotiators had agreed to accept these two UN resolutions, in which the Palestinian question was dealt with strictly as a refugee problem.

But this acceptance was conditional on the other side accepting all other pertinent UN resolutions. "Why," a PLO representative in Amman asks, "are 242 and 338 to be considered internationally binding when all other resolutions confirming our right to self-determination arent't?"

In his negotiations with Mr Arafat about a joint Jordanian-Palestinian peace settlement King Hussein had argued that by acknowledging the two UN resolutions the way would be paved to regaining control over the occupied territories.

The Palestinians' right to self-determination could then be dealt with at a later date as an internal Jordanian-Palestinian problem.

Mr Arafat insisted on linking these issues in a single package. In this he appears to have enjoyed the full support of Palestinians in the occupied territories. Since King Hussein's speech in [illegible] February not a day has passed without delegations from the Transjordan, the Israeli-occupied West Bank [illegible] not called at the Royal Palace to [illegible]claim their loyalty to the King and [illegible]sure him of their support in his dispute with the PLO leader.

But these protestations of loyalty doubtless convey a false impression, at least as far as sentiment on the West Bank is concerned.

Western diplomats who have [illegible] visited the occupied territories [illegible] returned to Amman convinced that [illegible] overwhelming majority of Palestinians strongly support Mr Arafat.

If King Hussein had sought by [illegible]ing with Mr Arafat to drive a wedge between people on the West Bank and PLO headquarters he seemed to have failed in the attempt.

As one Western diplomat put it: "The move has backfired. Arafat has registered a respectable gain in prestige by reaffirming the right of self-determination."

Palestinian critics of the PLO leader agree that Mr Arafat has not sold out national interests in his talks with the Jordanian monarch.

King Hussein in contrast is alleged to have sought to establish a [illegible] alongside the PLO's as representative of the Palestinian people and to dispute the PLO's sole right to represent the Palestinian people as acknowledged at the 1974 Arab summit in Rabat.

Jordanian officials strongly deny any such intention, just as they deny that Amman is prepared to hold separate peace talks with Israel.

If King Hussein were to go it alone any way, officials in Amman invariably say, it would be political, not to [illegible] physical, suicide.

Peter Gerne

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 March 1986)

Palme – pointless end to a life in the service of peace

The murder of Swedish Premier Olof Palme testified to the sad truth that there is no such thing as an island of the blessed.

The bullet that killed John F. Kennedy in Dallas, the murder of Aldo Moro in Rome, the Brighton hotel bomb aimed at Margaret Thatcher and now the bullet that killed Olof Palme on the open street — all show there is no such thing as absolute safety.

Long gone are the days when US Presidents could take a morning stroll round the White House without bodyguards and German Chancellors could meet the people without an escort.

We have grown accustomed to the scores of security officials who look after our leaders. Next to no-one is perturbed to see the Pope blessing believers from a bulletproof glass showcase.

The retinue of heavily armed guards on state visits has come to be seen as a matter of course, just like the bulletproof cars used by Cabinet Ministers.

Sweden used to be an exception: a lucky country where the Prime Minister went to the cinema with his wife and sent his bodyguards home. But those happy days are now over.

We still don't know who the murderer was. A madman? A political fanatic? A man motivated by personal dislike or by the dictates of his convictions?

For long after the Second World War Sweden was seen as a model, a country that seemed to have found the happy medium between socialism and capitalism.

Then the Social Democratic dream was rudely awakened by financial constraints. Equality degenerated into egalitarianism, the quest for justice into conformism. Critics exaggeratedly accused Sweden of being a welfare dictatorship.

The Swedish model had its wings clipped by the need to economise. The Swedish Social Democrats were upset. Maybe the murderer was motivated by some strange concept of justice?

He may, of course, have been a member of one of the many movements that lurk in the shadows of world affairs.

A German guerrilla group calling itself the Holger Meins Command could be to blame. The motive is self-explanatory: belated vengeance for the storming of the German embassy occupied by RAF terrorists in 1975.

Exiled Croatians are another possibility, not to mention Kurds, who have been responsible for a series of murders in Sweden.

No-one can stand aloof from what goes in the world at large, still less a



country so seriously committed in world affairs as Sweden.

Palme was largely responsible for this commitment. For him justice was never an aim limited to home affairs; it also motivated his approach to [illegible] affairs.

Third World countries have lost in Olof Palme an eloquent advocate. To him development aid was not just a useful slogan, it was a deeply-felt need, and he spent one per cent of Sweden's GNP on it.

He was no less consistent in championing the cause of peace. A minority of states possess nuclear weapons, he used to say, but a majority of mankind would die if they were ever used.

So the small fry, he argued, had every right to speak out. Indeed, they were duty-bound to do so.

Palme thought nothing of upsetting the great power. As a Cabinet Minister he took part in rallies against the US role in Vietnam. He also pilloried the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

He demonstratively sided with whoever he saw as the underdogs, people such as Arafat, Castro, the Sandinistas.

He failed in his bid to mediate between Iraq and Iran but he was undismayed.

The Palme Commission's disarmament proposals ran counter to prevailing views.

He was a moral politician, at times a moralising one.

As a statesman he towered above tiny Sweden [illegible] needed a larger stage. [illegible] since Hammarskjöld has a Scandinavian achieved his international stature.

His outstanding characteristic was his desire for peace.

His death in a hail of bullets was the pointless end of an undaunted life.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 March 1986)

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■ BONN

Kohl on the crest of a trough?

Hamburger Abendblatt

Gone are the days when government spokesman Friedhelm Ost could quote an internationally respected newspaper such as the *Financial Times* to confirm that Chancellor Helmut Kohl was held in high esteem abroad.

At the end of January, for example, the *Financial Times* wrote that "Mr Kohl suddenly appears to be invincible."

These are the kind of headlines government spokesman in Bonn would like to find today.

Disputes within the government coalition over internal security legislation, the heated public debate regarding paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act, the legal proceedings instigated against the Chancellor by the Green MP Otto Schily, and, finally, the substantial losses suffered by Chancellor Kohl's party, the CDU, during recent local government elections have turned Helmut the Invincible into Helmut the Dismissible within the short space of just six weeks.

Helmut Kohl himself, however, seems relatively unperturbed by his waning popularity.

One of his closest advisers refuted all claims that the latest election disaster had left Kohl cold by pointing out that "he would have to be a robot not to show any reaction at all and not to regard the election result in Schleswig-Holstein as a bitter defeat".

His adviser added that Kohl's main concern now is to take the necessary steps to improve the situation.

This basically means clearing the controversial political issues which are confusing voters out of the way as fast as possible.

The government is hoping to push its proposed amendment to paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act through parliament before the Easter recess in an effort to take this issue out of the limelight of party-political discussions.

By that time the government also hopes that an SDI framework agreement with the Americans will be ready to be signed.

Thirdly, the coalition must start discussing the remaining draft legislation on internal [illegible] posed and united manner.

"Once these tough nuts have been cracked," says the Chancellor's Office, "we've got to make sure that voters start appreciating the government's achievements."

The Chancellor's strategic advisers in Bonn also admit self-critically that they may well have expected too much of the man in the street.

"During this parliamentary term we've launched so many Bills in Parliament that the ensuing discussions have obscured the view for the real achievements of this government," says the Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office, Wolfgang Schäuble, in an attempt to explain the current popularity low.

Both Chancellor Kohl and his followers are astonishingly calm when faced with the extremely fierce criticism often levelled against them by the media.

Many of Kohl's supporters feel that it is only natural that the man who spearheads the government of the day will be the main butt of public criticism for unpopular policies.

They also feel that there are many people who still criticise Helmut Kohl for becoming Chancellor the way he did in October 1982.

The Chancellor's advisers feel that this partly explains why, in contrast to his predecessor in office, Helmut Schmidt, Kohl hardly gets any support from the Opposition during popularity polls.

It is often claimed that in the eyes of many CDU voters Helmut Schmidt only had one major fault: he was in the wrong party.

This accounts for the fact that political polarisation was less pronounced when Helmut Schmidt was Chancellor than it is today.

Chancellor Kohl, however, has also got to come to terms with a disadvantage which is almost typical for conservative-liberal coalitions.

"The broad mass of CDU members do not do enough to spread the government's political message," the Chancellor's Office claims.

Addressing the leaders of the CDU in the *Länder* this criticism is more specific:

"Efforts to boost one's own image are more pronounced in our party than efforts on behalf of the common cause.

"The desire to stay in power should make party colleagues adopt a more reasonable stance. Conservative and liberal parties, however, often lack discipline . . . [illegible]

Nevertheless, there are no signs of resignation in the conservative camp.

The Chancellor's spring offensive is planned to begin after Easter. It will then be time for the Chancellor to lead his "troops" into the "election battle."

Jochim Stoltenberg

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 12 March 1986)

Chancellor faces legal probe, political motives alleged

The public prosecutor's office in Bonn is the second legal authority to take up preliminary investigations into allegations that Chancellor Kohl gave false testimony to an investigation committee.

The spokesman of the Bonn public prosecutor confirmed that the president of the Bundestag, Philipp Jenninger, had been informed of the office's intention.

The public prosecutor in Bonn will be examining the testimony Chancellor Kohl gave to the Flick investigation committee.

Kohl's outward reaction to the news was one of demonstrative composure. He expressed his hopes that proceedings would be fair and conducted speedily.

The public prosecutor in Koblenz is conducting investigations into similar allegations.

Proceedings in Bonn were instigated by the Green member of the Bundestag, Otto Schily.

The public prosecutor's office there announced that there were sufficient initial grounds to suspect false testimony.

The spokesman emphasised that the question of further consequences, i.e. the dropping of legal proceedings or the possibility of a proper trial, can only be answered after preliminary investigations have been carried out.

The Bundestag has the possibility of vetoing such proceedings against the Chancellor within 48 hours of official notification. This, however, has never happened [illegible]

In the charges brought against the Chancellor, Schily outlined his suspicion that Chancellor Kohl untruthfully denied receiving two payments from the Flick Group totalling DM55,000 in his statement to the Bundestag Flick investigation committee on 7 November, 1984.

What is more, Schily claims, the Chancellor did not mention the fact that his secretary, Juliane Weber, collected a number of political donations from the Flick Group on his behalf.

The preliminary investigations being conducted in Koblenz are also the result of charges brought against the Chancellor by Otto Schily.

In the Koblenz case Schily accused the Chancellor of having denied against his better judgement any knowledge of that fact that an organisation called the *Staatsbürgerliche Vereinigung Köln/Koblenz* was used to launder donations to political parties.

Kohl did not appear to be surprised at the announcement by the public prosecutor in Bonn.

On his way out of a meeting between the CDU and CSU he said that he had been expecting this to happen for some time.

Although he said there were certain reasons for this assumption he was not willing to go into details.

Government spokesman Friedhelm Ost maintained that the effect of two legal proceedings against the Chancellor at the same time is an apparently deliberate move by Schily.

Schily, Ost claimed, was determined to take advantage of the fact that public prosecutors must institute proceedings if there are sufficient initial grounds warranting such a move.

Ost also accused Schily of "misusing" these proceedings "for party-political purposes".

Schily himself said that those who had previously maintained that his charges were unfounded now have reason to be self-critical.

Once again, however, he emphasised that the principle of innocent until proven guilty applies in this, as in any other case.

Jürgen Wessalowski/Claus Wettermann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 March 1986)

Flick probe is wound up in Bundestag

Many members of parliament were conspicuous by their absence during the debate on the final report of the Flick investigation committee in the Bundestag.

Only about a third of Bundestag members came along to the eagerly awaited discussion.

In view of this disappointing turnout many observers asked themselves whether the whole thing was just an act of parliamentary self-purification.

The Flick investigation committee was appointed to take a look into party-political funding involving the Flick Group. [illegible] many arguments, accusations and counter-accusations had been aired umpteen times before.

It sometimes seemed as if the Bundestag wasn't all that interested in the scandal surrounding the allegations of political bribery.

Furthermore, the parties themselves have never really agreed on what was to be investigated.

The Greens and some members of the SPD felt that investigations should focus on the susceptibility of government institutions to "financial lobbying" by industry.

The government coalition parties in contrast wanted investigations to be limited to the tax exemption practices of the 1970s.

During the debate on the final report the Greens had nothing new to offer.

Even Otto Schily, the hero of the hour, was no exception, and his farewell parliamentary speech was fundamentally a moral condemnation.

Since the SPD was in a coalition government with the FDP during the period covered by the committee's findings it had no option but to grin and bear the cutting aphorisms on the need for a government which was free of corruption.

Social Democrat Wilfried Penner stressed that his party regards donations to political parties as legitimate and necessary providing they "do not lead to or encourage dependence".

On this aspect there was general agreement between the government coalition parties and the Social Democrats.

Flick investigation committee chairman Langner (CDU) supported the view forwarded by his parliamentary colleagues from the SPD.

This Bundestag debate represented at least a formal conclusion to an important chapter in recent parliamentary history in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Despite the mudslinging in all directions the main party-political rift was between the SPD and the Greens rather than between the SPD on the one hand and the CDU, CSU and FDP on the other.

Axel Vogel (Greens) summed up the situation as follows: "The SPD sold itself because it formed a coalition with the wrong party".

The shadows cast by the Flick affair over German post-war democracy will remain visible long after the Bundestag debate has died down.

Although the topic "parliamentary investigation committee" is no longer on the agenda it will take some time before the whole affair pales into insignificance.

One thing is certain: the Flick scandal did not shake the foundations of the West German state.

Even Otto Schily, the man responsible for the extent and depth of the Flick discussion, was obliged to admit that there was no crisis of state.

In fact, quite the opposite is true: "The discussion has revealed the strength and stability of democratic institutions."

Karl-Hugo Pruys

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 14 March 1986)

■ PARTY POLITICS

Rau's rapport with the SPD rank and file

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Both CDU Chancellor Helmut Kohl and SPD Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau currently seem to be reacting exaggeratedly, albeit in opposite directions.

The Chancellor sounds an exaggeratedly optimistic note in saying he has no doubt that his Christian Democrats will fare extremely well in next January's general election.

The Shadow Chancellor sounds an unduly pessimistic note when he gives the SPD a verbal drubbing, accusing it of lack of discipline, loyalty and commitment.

Each seems in his way to be suffering from a disturbed sense of reality — always assuming their exaggerations are not merely a matter of tactics.

Herr Kohl's outlook is well-known, whereas Herr Rau's temperament and the interface between his personality and that of his party, which has seen many a leader come and go over the years, have yet to be thoroughly outlined.

Herr Rau, the North Rhine-Westphalian Premier, is nicknamed Brother Johannes, a reference to the impression he conveys as the Protestant lay preacher he is.

For months this nickname, used ironically but in admiration by Social Democrats and disparagingly by Christian Democrats, has obscured the important issue of how the SPD has adapted to its Shadow Chancellor and how he has adapted to it.

The verbal drubbing he recently gave his party came as a surprise; it was something new, coming from him, which was probably what it was intended to be.

But did only the SPD need to be confronted with a new and tougher Johannes Rau or was public opinion in need of a Shadow Chancellor who showed greater will power?

If this were the chief consideration the problem in need of solution would be less the SPD, as indicated by Herr Rau, who criticised the party, than its candidate for Chancellor, whose image was (and still is) in need of improvement. The shortcomings of his image are largely taboo in the SPD and only a handful of Social Democrats discuss openly whether Herr Rau as he has so far presented himself is their ideal candidate.

He may accuse the party of not yet aiming to win next year's general election with sufficient enthusiasm and determination, but the accusation could be levelled at him too.

Many Social Democrats who would be prepared to campaign wholeheartedly to gain an absolute majority feel Johannes Rau lacks for the time being the personality to fire their imagination.

Both the party and its Shadow Chancellor await each other's effect.

It goes without saying that Social Democrats rush to his defence when the CDU claims their Shadow Chancellor is in hiding.

But many Social Democrats are far from sure they approve of his restraint and wonder whether it might be better for him to campaign more keenly and distinctively.

At the CDU party conference uniting the party's Rhineland and Westphalian regions CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler accused Herr Rau of being a vague, blurred candidate.

That was such a polemical claim it was unlikely to have much effect on Herr Rau's public image. A much more intelligent and dangerous analysis of the SPD Shadow Chancellor was made by North Rhine-Westphalian CDU leader Kurt Biedenkopf.

He is keen to bring the public debate on Herr Rau to a point at which a clear distinction is drawn between Rau the individual and Rau the candidate.

Herr Rau's claim to want to reconcile rather than to divide is, he says, typical of the individual and unacceptable inasmuch as general election voters will have to decide on Herr Rau's qualities as a politician, not as an individual.

He will naturally be made responsible for the SPD's campaign and its campaign performance this year.

Herr Biedenkopf said the CDU could not accept this "division of labour" between Johannes Rau the individual, fighting for fair play in politics, and Johannes Rau the politician spearheading an SPD fighting for power with all the means at its command.

This interpretation virtually raises the issues Herr Rau dealt with, albeit from a different angle, in criticising the SPD. But what Herr Biedenkopf sees as a subtle division of labour between Herr Rau and the SPD does not really exist.

The Social Democrats have more or less drifted into a twofold approach, and that is the main reason why Herr Rau was so critical of them.

He would like to see the entire SPD toe his line and is no longer prepared to tolerate party groups that overemphasise fringe issues.

He is worried parts of the party might break ranks during the election campaign and upset his concept. Media coverage heightened the impression that the SPD was in the throes of infighting again.

In reality this impression is misleading. Recent SPD views and proposals that have hit the headlines do not confirm the impression that the SPD is in the process of immolating itself again; far from it.

In comparison with the final stage of the Schmidt era the SPD today seems extremely united. Herr Rau's clarion call was basically intended only to close ranks entirely — an aim understandable enough but one that risks asking too much of the party.

The SPD is a party geared to programmatic policy statements. No matter how much it may appreciate the Shadow Chancellor's concern for campaign tactics it finds it hard to come to terms with Herr Rau's comment that it is more important to be "close to the citizen" than absolutely accurate where the party programme is concerned.

To this day Social Democrats find it hard to be totally enthusiastic without a target that at least appears to be programmatic in character.

The problem Herr Rau faces is that of attracting as many voters as possible from the middle of the road, a category the experts feel amounts to 30 per cent of the electorate.

They are why he is so insistent on the need to be "close to the citizen." Yet he can only motivate his own party by advocating views and objectives that are clearly and unmistakably Social Democratic in character.

Herr Rau is convinced he can reconcile these two objectives if only the SPD has confidence in him.

In his six-point campaign strategy devised by Bodo Hombach and Wolfgang Clement he ventures to say that only the SPD is still a popular party (i.e. a party of the whole people).



Johannes Rau (Photo: dpa)

The CDU, he argues, can no longer claim to represent the entire people. Yet oddly enough this claim has so far gone virtually unnoticed.

"We must make it clear," he says, "that the CDU is not a party of the entire people. It divides and includes people out. It is in the process of becoming a pressure group for the privileged.

"We in contrast pursue policies on behalf of the majority of the people. Our concepts include social progress and reconciliation.

"A party that objectively pursues policies for the majority of the population must do all it can to actively enlist the approval of this majority."

In major sectors the SPD has already made it clear that it is prepared to follow in Rau's footsteps here, both in home affairs and, even more so, in foreign affairs.

An entire range of problematic issues has been clarified as favoured by the Shadow Chancellor with a view to reducing drastically the number of stumbling blocks the party may encounter in the course of the campaign.

They include rejection of the Greens as a possible coalition ally in Bonn, careful disssociation from the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and a reappraisal of the medium-range missiles zero option to which the SPD was so strongly opposed three years ago.

So in reality Herr Rau has less cause to complain than might seem the case. The Social Democrats are showing every sign of readiness to adapt.

He has been infuriated by a few mishaps such as [illegible] proposal to [illegible] reunification [illegible] the preamble to Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, and the suggestion that the age of sexual consent should be reduced to [illegible].

But on major issues the SPD is very much toeing Rau's line. The SPD can no longer be seriously accused of being anti-[illegible]. The rapprochement between the SPD and the Reagan administration sealed by Herr Rau's visit to Washington at the beginning of February has pulled the rug from under the anti-Americanism campaign long envisaged by CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler.

So the Christian Democrats may well not be able to play the foreign policy card against the SPD to the extent they might have hoped.

The Social Democrats can be seen to have closed ranks round Johannes Rau to a greater degree than he is prepared — for whatever reason — to admit.

Jürgen Kramer

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 16 March 1986)





Kurt Biedenkopf (Photo: dpa)

Biedenkopf stages comeback in CDU regional merger

The two CDU regions in North Rhine-Westphalia were merged at a conference in Düsseldorf. An overwhelming majority of the 600 delegates, 91.5 per cent, voted [illegible] Kurt Biedenkopf head of the combined North Rhine-Westphalian CDU, which has 260,000 members, or roughly 40 per cent of CDU membership. So North Rhine-Westphalia will hold over one vote in three at CDU conferences.

The merger of the Rhineland and Westphalian CDU regions into one North Rhine-Westphalian region is a historic occasion for the CDU in the country's most populous *Land*.

But it would be overrating its significance to infer that the Christian Democrats on the Rhine and in the Ruhr have now emerged from their trough.

Rhinelanders and Westphalians are poles apart temperamentally; their differences cannot be eliminated merely by paperwork.

Everyday life in the new North Rhine-Westphalian region seems sure to bring euphoria down to earth with a vengeance once the merger fever is over.

The Düsseldorf conference did not deal first and foremost with how the CDU was to regain power in Düsseldorf and Bonn; it was primarily a personal triumph for Kurt Biedenkopf.

He was largely responsible for the merger and has slowly but surely paved

Continued on page 5

■ DEFENCE

Munich congress sceptical about Geneva prospects

DIE ZEIT

The Western security policy Establishment, which met in Munich for the annual defence policy conference, currently lacks the courage to clearly specify what it feels is needed to defend the West and what shape East-West ties should take.

Problems are quietly left to simmer. Circumspection and restraint have predominated throughout the alliance since the superpower leaders, Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachov, have so escalated their disarmament proposals as to monopolise the general tenor of the security debate.

Leading representatives of the security Establishment, 150 in number, met in Munich over the first weekend in March to discuss balance and imbalance of power between East and West.

Yet they took good care to ensure that President Reagan's leadership in disarmament policy views was not called into question as long as the Geneva talks made no headway.

A gathering including several Defence Ministers and leading politicians, senior diplomats and high-ranking military men nonetheless made it clear where the political and military weak links in the chain of Western security lay.

In debate, particularly discussions outside the conference hall, scepticism was in ample evidence in assessing the prospects of success at the Geneva talks.

Many Americans feel official disarmament targets are far too high, but everyone realises that in the rivalry between Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachov since last autumn for the best disarmament plan neither side can allow itself to be outdone.

Besides, Mr Reagan's summit diplomacy has brought about a tremendous swing in sentiment in his favour. Both politicians and experts within the Western alliance take a far different view of the President from when, for instance, he presented his SDI plans.

Yet SDI was intended to toll the death knell of the regime of nuclear horror, and SDI is, in the final analysis, the reason why the Russians returned to the Geneva conference table.

The security experts who met in Munich showed sympathy both to Mr Reagan and to the new Soviet leader, who was so highly rated that many surmises about a pragmatic Soviet foreign policy realignment were voiced [illegible]

Not all were [illegible] Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, however, who said Mr Gorbachov neither wanted a military conflict nor was prepared to forgo military options.

So a question mark may be said to have hung over the conference as a king-size token of uncertainty.

Is the change in behaviour between the superpowers here to stay? Or are critical comments by Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachov about the other side's credibility an unerring sign of the fragile nature of relations?

The first reliable indicator of a prospect of nuclear disarmament or any hope of a reduction in tension is felt to be the special talks on medium-range missiles (INF) in Europe proposed by the Soviet leader.

Such an experienced US government official as Paul Nitze, the President's disarmament adviser, was not ruling out a first step toward agreement on the basis of the "walk in the woods" proposals he and his Soviet opposite number, Yuli Kvitsinsky, had agreed on four years ago.

The walk in the woods proposals envisaged reducing the number of Soviet SS-20s stationed in Europe to 140 and deploying an equivalent number of Western missiles — an idea applauded in Europe once it was a dead duck.

Mr Nitze sounded a note of surprise in Munich about the scepticism voiced in Europe, initially in Bonn in particular, about the elimination of medium-range missiles envisaged by Washington and Moscow.

This issue may yet turn out to be a fully-fledged dispute within the West.

While Moscow originally envisaged only a reduction of medium-range missiles in Europe, the European Nato countries and Japan got Mr Reagan to submit comprehensive counter-proposals.

The new Western proposal provides for the scrapping of Soviet SS-20s in Asia as well as in Europe, while Moscow is expected to tolerate the idea of Britain and France not immediately freezing their nuclear stockpiles.

Reciprocal agreement is also foreseen on short-range missiles with a range of less than 1,000km (625 miles).

Medium-range intermediate nuclear forces (INF) alone are a more than ample source of conflict, with Mr Gorbachov making INF talks subject to the United States scrapping SDI.

So the outcome of this dispute will be a really tough test. Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner said at Munich that he felt a gradual reduction in nuclear weapons in Europe was acceptable. That didn't necessarily use to be considered the case.

He made it clear that medium-range missiles were withdrawn from Europe the West might have to forgo deterrent options. He also felt that in the foreseeable future a strategy not including nuclear weapons was inconceivable both globally and in Europe because the conventional superiority of the East would lead to instability and possibly a risk of war.

That was why he stressed the need for greater efforts in conventional defence.



US Defence Under-Secretary Fred Iklé, chairman Ewald von Kleist and Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss at the Munich defence conference (Photo: dpa)

New weapons technologies are to be developed to ensure that forward defence need not be abandoned or an aggressor need have no fear of the destruction of his hinterland because nuclear options have been dispensed with.

Herr Wörner envisages a European defence system against shorter-range Soviet missiles that might one day carry conventional warheads.

His weapons technology expectations seemed, incidentally, to tally with those of Nato's American supreme commander General Bernard Rogers. But Herr Wörner and his Bonn team were very much on their own in Europe.

British and French speakers avoided expressing an opinion on the German Defence Minister's approval in principle of the defensive doctrine behind SDI. They clearly felt Bonn's position was wrong.

One wonders whether the Bonn government's disarmament philosophy can be reconciled with American views on the subject. To many Americans' surprise Chancellor Kohl announced at last year's Munich conference in connection with his SDI terms that the Soviet Union was our most important partner in the East and that consequences naturally arose as a result.

The conclusion the Chancellor reached was that East-West policy must not be restricted to arms control and security issues.

In comparison this year's Munich speech by Fred Iklé of the Pentagon was bound to make one stop and think. He referred with the greatest detachment to the fascinating desire within Nato for a world with stable, peaceful frontiers.

What he wanted to see was greater efforts to compete with the Soviet Union militarily, economically and technologically. Moral and ideological yardsticks needed to retain priority.

Mr Iklé is not, however, regarded as a man intimately associated with the framing of current White House policy. He is considered to belong to category of right-wing Republicans whose influence on President Reagan has declined.

A change for the better in the assessment of the Reagan administration was apparent in Munich in connection with whether the United States was planning to decouple from its European allies in security terms, given a possible reduction in American nuclear presence on this side of the Atlantic.

The prevailing view was that decoupling was not triggered by weapon systems. It was felt to be a matter of political will.

The importance of technology for security policy has for some time seemed likely to become a fashionable issue. But in Munich the German Social Democrat Horst Ehmke met with scant approval of his tenet, in a paper on modern weapons technology, that the borderline between nuclear and conventional arms must not become blurred.

Political and financial considerations prompted him to take an extremely sceptical view of Herr Wörner's European missile defence proposals. Herr Ehmke reiterated his strong opposition to SDI, an opposition that was criticised on all sides.

Ex-Senator John Tower, the former US negotiator in Geneva, denied that America had any striving for military superiority on the basis of a technological edge.

Many dramatic security policy judgements on the weakness of the West at Munich were attributable to current uncertainty.

The imagination was inadequate to figure out the political and strategic consequences of a partial US nuclear withdrawal from Europe. Either that or speakers were not prepared to refer openly to the consequences.

The possibility of far-reaching disarmament was also dealt with extremely sketchily in Munich. Certainly no-one ventured to forecast a historic turning-point in East-West ties as a result of disarmament.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 March 1986)

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[illegible] comeback his CDU opponents were keen to prevent.

The erstwhile CDU general secretary's political career long seemed over. Chancellor Kohl had sacked him and sent him to the provinces to get rid of a tiresome rival.

Initially Herr Biedenkopf was luckless and had to let Rhenish CDU leader Bernhard Worms lead the CDU in last year's state assembly elections. Many felt that marked the end of his career.

Yet he never gave up. After the worst defeat the CDU had ever suffered in North Rhine-Westphalia he grasped the opportunity of staging a comeback. A merger of the two regions seemed just the job.

He has pulled it off and the fact that he is due to hand over to his deputy in two years' time in no way detracts from his victory. [illegible]

No-one who knows Biedenkopf will doubt for a moment that by then he will be home and dry. Chancellor Kohl's brief appearance in Düsseldorf demonstrated that he was well aware Herr Biedenkopf was back with a vengeance.

With 40 per cent of CDU membership and over a third of the delegates at party conferences behind him, Kurt Biedenkopf is stronger than ever.

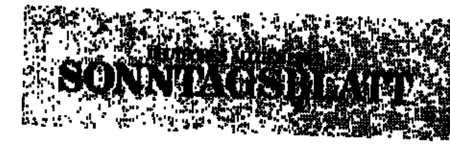
Yet he will also realise that facts are needed, and not just bright ideas, to convince opponents of the merger that there was more to it than boosting Kurt Biedenkopf's career.

He knows from bitter personal experience that the CDU rewards only success.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 10 March 1986)

■ PRIVATISATION

Bonn sells state holdings, boosts private enterprise



One of the present Bonn government's basic principles is that private initiative and private property should be given priority over public-sector business activities and state ownership.

This fundamental policy principle was clearly outlined in a Cabinet resolution passed on 21 March 1985.

Yet the Federal government still acts as an entrepreneur in a free market economy. Is this a contradiction in terms? A number of economic facts and figures would seem to indicate that it is.

At the end of 1984, for example, the Federal government held direct and indirect shares in 474 businesses, including Deutsche Bundesbahn, the railways, and Deutsche Bundespost, the post office.

The nominal capital of all enterprises in which the government and its special agencies had a direct stake amounted to just under DM13bn at the end of 1984, of which the Federal government accounted for just under DM7bn.

Almost 200,000 workers were employed in firms in which the government had majority interests.

If the employees of the VEBA and Volkswagen companies (companies in which *the government has minority interests*) are also taken into account we arrive at a figure of over half a million workers who are directly or indirectly dependent on the government.

The government is both entrepreneur and employer. Its dividend income, however, is not all that impressive...

The direct investment income of the government, which acts as a banker, produces coal, steel, aluminium, cars, electricity, gas, tools, nuts and bolts and industrial plant of all kinds and also trades in building materials, chemicals and oil, was estimated at just under DM230m in 1985.

Were the government to act in strict accordance with the principles of private enterprise it would either have to try and improve the return on its investment capital or stop being an entrepreneur altogether.

It has failed to invest its, or to put it more precisely, the taxpayers' money in an optimum manner.

The government shares would be guaranteed a much better return, for example, on the capital market. The entrepreneurial qualities of the government leave a great deal to be desired.

Sometimes the government is over-generous, as in the case of the Bundesbahn, which this year received a subsidy of over DM13bn.

On other occasions, it reacts like a mean capitalist. The Bundespost, for example, shamelessly takes advantage of its position as a monopoly enterprise.

There are, however, cases where the government has shown itself to be an "efficient" entrepreneur able to put ailing firms back on their feet.

Salzgitter AG, which is 100-per-cent government-owned, is a good example. The company made a profit of about DM50m in 1984/85 following losses of over DM700m during the two previous years, losses on a scale that threatened to disqualify the state as an entrepreneur.

Sometimes the government looks very much like a bankrupt selling off the family silver to get some ready cash.

It had no trouble, for example, reducing reducing its share in the VEBA AG from almost 44 to 30 per cent of the company's nominal capital.

Although the government received DM770m for these shares the amount is, of course, a once-only payment, whereas dividend earnings are a more regular source of income.

Privatisation bids by the Bonn government look very half-hearted.

In some cases, such as VEBA, it has no scruples about selling off its shares, while it shies away from such a move in others.

The reduction of the government's stake in Lufthansa (from 74 to 51 per cent), for example, has not yet materialised.

It has been blocked on the supervisory board by Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, who certainly cannot be accused of not supporting a free market economy.

This chain of oddities would suggest that government circles are still not clear about the tasks and functions of government in its role as entrepreneur.

Were the government to share the *generally accepted view that privately* owned firms are better *per se* than state-run enterprises it would have to start selling off its "problem cases" such as Salzgitter or Saarberg rather than its stake in extremely healthy firms like VEBA or VIAG.

What is more, if the government were to stick to its own principles it would also have to privatise Lufthansa and not just VEBA and similar companies.

Partial privatisation is neither one thing nor the other.

If, on the other hand, the government were to support the principle that one of main tasks of the public sector is to make sure that a modern industrialised society can function smoothly by controlling transport, communication and energy supply services it is no good selling off its shares in VEBA and Lufthansa.

State owned firms With government or government agency holdings

Share capital in DMm

VEBA 1685 — 30%; VW 1200 — 20%; Kreditanstalt f. Wiederaufbau 1000 — 71%; Entwicklungsgesellschaft 1000 — 100%; Lufthansa 900 — 74; Government shareholding; DSL-Bank 256 — 99; Dt. Pfandbriefanstalt 244; Salzgitter 425 — 100; Saarbergwerke 550 — 74; VIAG 580 — 87; Prakla-Seismos 60 — 95; DIAG 160 — 100; IVG 110 — 100; Deutsche Verkehrs-Kredit-Bank 65 — 100; Autobahn services 61 — 100; Schenker & Co 60 — 100; 68

= Partial privatisation planned

= Further privatisation projects

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The Prakla-Seismos AG, which searches for oil and natural gas deposits, would also have to be taken off the list of potential privatisation candidates.

At the same time the government would have to make sure that the government and government-owned enterprises did not move into fields where they do not belong.

It is extremely difficult to understand why the Bundespost is involved in the banking business.

Furthermore, the planned sale of the Bundesbahn's share in the tourist company. Deutsches Reisebüro has been delayed.

The intended privatisation of the Deutsche Siedlungs- und Landesrentenbank and the Deutsche Pfandbriefanstalt is also proving to be a difficult and arduous operation.

It looks as if the government likes being an entrepreneur. This is the crux of the problem.

The dividing line between public and private sector activities, which is so easier to draw with the help of pithy declarations of support for free market economy principles, has become very blurry in the political maze of conflicting or common interests.

The interests of government are very often privately motivated.

Which politician doesn't like to sit on the supervisory board of a prestigious and money-spinning company?

Klaus Hofmeier

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 9 March 1986)

Next tranche in June

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has been given Cabinet approval to sell off government *shares in the* VIAG and Prakla-*Seismos* companies in June and *in the* Industrieverwaltungsgesell*schaft* (IVG) company in September.

Forty per cent of the DM580m capital stock of the VIAG company (DM232m) is too be sold to as many small shareholders as possible.

Following an increase in capital stock from DM50bn to DM60bn 47 per cent of the Prakla-Seismos company (including the five per cent share of the IVG) is to be sold.

Prakla-Seismos became a joint stock company in 1985.

A Finance Ministry statement announced that the voting right of the shares will be limited to five per cent so as to guarantee the company's independence.

Employee shares are to be made available in both cases. This also applies to the IVG, 45 per cent of which will be sold.

In his report Stoltenberg referred to further privatisation candidates.

No vital government interests, he said, stand in the way of a transformation of the Deutsche Pfandbriefanstalt (DEPFA) into a private-law mortgage bank.

A gradual reduction of government involvement in the bank's activities is thus planned.

A final appraisal, in particular of tax questions, has yet to be completed in the case of the Deutsche Siedlungs- and Landesrentenbank (DSL).

Talks are continuing in the case of the Lufthansa airline company.

The Deutsche Verkehrs-Kredit-Bank has already been appraised.

A 24.9 per cent reduction of the share of the Bundesbahn is planned via an increase in capital stock in 1986.

Schenker & Co., a Bundesbahn road haulage subsidiary, is also being examined. It is hoped that the Bundesbahn's share here will be reduced by 24.9 per cent during 1986.

Stoltenberg announced that two state-run companies, Salzgitter and Saarberg, were no longer in the red.

Salzgitter has been able to make good its DM712m losses (1982/83) by recording a profit of DM50m in 1984/85.

Saarberg, which recorded a loss of DM207m in 1983, expects a more balanced result for 1985.

Heinz Heck

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 March 1986)

■ EUROPE

Bonn keen on CAP reform, but cost will be crux

Bonn seems at present to be the one government among the 12 European Community countries that is making tremendous efforts to reform the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

The European Commission presented its Green Paper in July 1985. This was amplified in the autumn, but it has not been easy to put its proposals into operation.

German Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle would like to begin all over again and revive the farm price policy talks.

He would like to put the flagging reform debate on a new course so that we and our partners in the Community can devise a fresh strategy.

Kiechle is well aware that adjustments, changes and new arrangements can only be undertaken on a European scale and not just at the national level.

He regards the concept, developed by the Brussels Commission and presented by its Dutch vice-president Frans Andriessen, as partly wrong-headed and partly too short-term and short-sighted.

The Commission wants to introduce policies to reduce production by reducing agricultural prices in real terms, and so reducing surpluses.

Kiechle favours an "active price policy" as a vital aspect of structuring and safeguarding income levels.

Rewards would be given for reduced agricultural production.

Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht has chaired a CDU/CSU committee set up to draft a new agricultural policy.

This committee's concept offers bonuses for voluntarily closing down a farm and for using arable land for ecological purposes.

The committee has also proposed a programme for the utilisation of agricultural produce in industry. The suggestion is that farm produce such as grain and beet sugar should be used to produce bio-ethanole as a motor fuel additive.

Many experts believe, however, that these proposals could not redress the problems of the Common Market's agricultural surpluses and costs.

These measures would cost millions in investment and compensation.

The experts say that to achieve the results desired millions more in CAP funds would certainly be needed than is needed now to subsidise production, warehousing and reduced-cost sales (mainly outside the Community).

It would also cause anger among Common Market consumers and tax-payers as well as among Europe's competitors on international farm produce markets such as the USA, New Zealand, the developing countries and so on.

Futhermore it is uncertain whether the path proposed would really bring positive results and what it would actually cost.

West German Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg recently said CAP reform would be costly because changes were being made too late.

He added that not all the problems could be pushed into the lap of central government. The *Länder* must do their share.

At the end of last year a majority in the Bundesrat (Upper House) agreed a resolution for a revision of agricultural policy.

This resolution made definite proposals to support farmers' incomes in certain cases and introduce measures to expand market and price policies — environmental arrangements, for instance.

The Bundesrat rejected proposals for reducing production by a quota system limiting output on certain items.

The differences with the committee headed by Ernst Albrecht are obvious.

The proposals made by the Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth and the Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss also do not coincide.

At the CSU farmers' conference in Munich Herr Strauss said that Community surpluses (at least butter and grain) should be given away and not warehoused at high costs. Wheat is a particularly heavy burden on Common Market finances.

Surpluses are at present valued at DM25bn. and warehousing costs for 1985 alone were almost DM3bn.

They include one million tons of butter, almost 800,000 tons of meat and 16 million tons of grain.

Giving the surpluses away would not help matters much. Much more must be done to rein back agricultural production. Agriculture Ministers must make definite, effective proposals.

Herr Kiechle is only one of twelve. Several Community countries see German moves in agriculture as being done with an eye to next year's general election.

With this in mind it is easy to see why he calls for "an active price policy" at meetings of the Council of Agriculture Ministers even though it would cost more.

It also explains why Finance Minister Stoltenberg is prepared to make concessions to farmers.

This explains why in 1984 the Bonn government went it alone and offered West German farmers compensation amounting to many billions of marks.

Hans-Peter Ott

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 6 March 1986)

EC and Efta aim at closer ties

The European Community of twelve and the European Free Trade Association (Efta) are moving closer to one another.

Efta was formed in 1960 and is now made up of six countries: Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Norway, Finland and Iceland.

Two factors are influencing closer cooperation between them: first the accession of Spain and former Efta member Portugal to the Community and secondly trade and industrial pressure from Japan and America.

The 18 countries want more than a free trade area of a united Europe and closer joint cooperation in research.

They want to develop a combined economic zone of more than 350 million consumers into a base to [illegible] in modern technolog[illegible]

This is where the roots for future economic growth lie, along with new jobs. The Brussels Commission has now prepared an industrial strategy with this aim in mind.

In fact the European Community will put Efta under pressure if, over the next six years, the Community is able to introduce the free movement not only of goods and people but also services and capital within its market.

Not for nothing is West Germany, the most highly developed industrial country in the Community, putting all its efforts into developing this European economic zone. As the strongest of the partners the Federal Republic will benefit.

The Efta countries are more closely related to the central European Community countries than are the southern Common Market members Greece, Spain and Portugal — and Ireland with its enormous regional problems. A comparison of inflation rates alone shows this clearly.

What is important is that all 18 countries are on a stable course. The decline in oil prices will bring additional growth and with it renewed efforts for closer cooperation.

[illegible] Danish Socialists against further development of the Community of Twelve, including Denmark, was a wrong answer to a wrong question. Scandinavia belongs economically to Europe.

The Danes have corrected this error by a decisive yes in the referendum of 27 February.

Intra-European trade is already of considerable significance. More than half the Efta countries' exports go to the Common Market, and more than half Efta imports originate from Community countries.

Import-export trade between the two is $120bn. The Common Market exports more to the Efta countries than it supplies to the US and Russia together.

Both organisations, whose economies are export-oriented, are opposed to growing protectionism in world trade. Both will stand up for European economic interests in the next round of Gatt negotiations and at the next Western economic summit in May.

The Community and Efta have reached agreement on ridding their trade of technical and administrative hindrances and for working closer together in industrial affairs.

This primarily involves harmonising industrial standards, the rules of competition and access to government contracts as well as research and development into modern information and telecommunications systems.

The accession of Spain and Portugal is a fine opportunity to take out of the archives any number of worthwhile expressions of intent, dust them off and give them new political life.

Forthcoming international negotiations are good enough reason for doing this.

Industry in Europe has waited long enough for the politicians to overcome administrative problems so as to create a free trade zone with a true European investment area within which capital can be transferred without restriction.

That is the basis for restructuring industry for mass production and for developing and introducing modern technology.

The politicians must do something other than just stand around, diagnosing the situation and proposing remedies. They must limit the risks for investors in Europe.

Hans Wimmer

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 6 March 1986)

Europe must invest DM20bn in Euro-R&D

Karl-Heinz Narjes, vice-president of the European Commission, says the Twelve must find nine billion ECUs (almost DM19.5bn) between 1987 and 1991 to fund a scientific and technological community.

That is not a lot when compared with the 230 billion ECUs the Common Market countries plan to spend on domestic research and development over the same period.

The Commission points out that no single member-country, no matter how large, can tackle all technological challenges with its own resources.

The Commission went on to say that the Community should cooperate with the Eureka project, which promises so much, and in which many non-EC states will take part.

Eureka will further Europe's competitive ability, improve the quality of life and establish a "Europe of researchers."

The first Community programme from 1984 to 1987 involves 3.75 billion ECUs.

The second, the Commission says, must amplify seven national and Eureka projects that can benefit from the Common Market's economic area and treaty regulations.

This would be in contrast to looser arrangements for Eureka cooperation, where results could either take too long to appear or not appear at all.

The Europeans are poor devils. Just how much technological assistance they need was shown when trying to make a telephone call from Cologne to Brussels. For more than 20 minutes there was no line.

The European central telephone exchange in Brussels, hailed when it was put into operation almost ten years ago as the most modern in the world, had to close down for six hours recently.

A number has to be dialled several times usually to make a local call in Brussels, Europe's capital, at a peak period.

Four technological sectors, with information and telecommunications technology at the top, would take up 60 per cent of the funds. Trying to telephone in Europe shows just how urgent the position is.

There are dangers if the Community remains in its present unsatisfactory situation. West German Commission vice-president Narjes has made a start with his 10 billion ECUs.

A Commission statement said, however, that this would have to be cut by a billion and only introduced gradually because the Community was short of money.

In this year alone, due to the weak American dollar, the subsidy burden for the export of surplus agricultural products has leapt up by at least a billion ECUs.

Insiders in Brussels believe that plans for the technological future will be strangled by lack of money.

But the money is required primarily to make up for mistakes of the past. For 25 years farmers have not been told how much they could really earn if they continuously over-produced.

Europe's technology emergency cannot be relieved at the farmers' expense and there can be no question of stalling and leaving our grandchildren to foot the bill.

If the Common Market needs more money West European leaders must face up to their responsibilities. A stop must be made to economies in all the wrong places.

Hermann Bohle

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 March 1986)

■ MOTORING

Streamlined, lightweight, new battery: best electric car yet

DIE WELT

A new battery-powered car developed by Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE) is claimed to be the first really viable electric car, with a top speed of 125kph (78mph) and a range of 160km (100 miles), making it suitable for more than mere city use.

It owes this striking performance to consistent lightweight design and construction principles, to a new engine concept and to its nickel-iron battery.

RWE and the car's Bavarian inventor, Erich Pöhlmann from Kulmbach, have spent years developing what seems to be the first really feasible electric car in today's conditions, the Pöhlmann EL (see photo).

They have offered German carmakers the entire know-how free of charge, but motor manufacturers have been reluctant to jump at the offer.

Maybe the brisk trade in cat cars and diesels is the reason why. Carmakers add that they all have a prototype electric car they could run off the assembly line whenever they wanted.

That, says RWE's Dr Bernd Stoy, is a red herring. The cars they mean are all standard models fitted out with an electric motor and a boot full of lead batteries and so heavy and weak they can hardly move.

The sole exception, he says, is a battery-powered Volkswagen Golf developed by an RWE subsidiary. But the Golf incorporates compromises to the detriment of speed and range.

A closer look at the Pöhlmann EL is enough to show how right Dr Stoy is. From the environmental angle the battery-powered car is clearly desirable.

It is noiseless apart from the sound of the tyres on the road surface. Its emits no exhaust fumes whatever.

But performance is the problem. In a motorised society we have grown accustomed to cars with top speeds of at least 160kph (100mph), breathtaking acceleration and a virtually unlimited range.

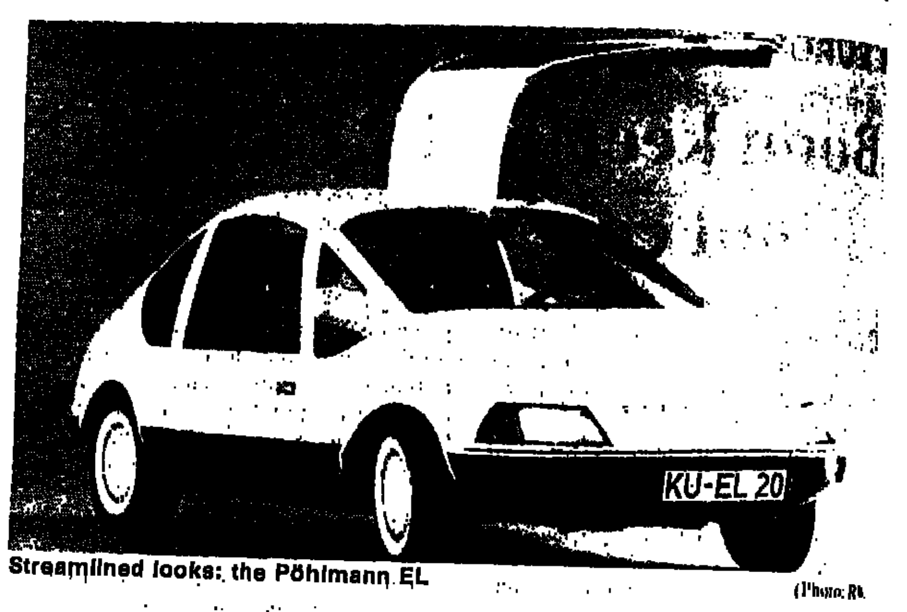
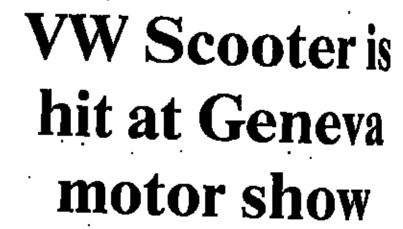
Electric cars based on standard models and powered by lead batteries are capable of 100kph (62mph) at best and need a recharge every 40 to 70 kilometres (25 to 40 miles). Pundits feel sure these two features alone will be enough to rule them out as far as most motorists are concerned — quite apart from what they would cost.

Bernd Stoy took a fresh look at the whole idea in the early 1980s. An electric car, he decided, had to be light in weight and aerodynamic in design. It had to be built around the motor and power unit.

It also had to be aimed at the wealthier end of the market, the kind of people who bought the first petrol-engined cars and refrigerators, paving the way for the lower-priced models everyone can afford today.

Pöhlmann and RWE premiered the first Pöhlmann EL in 1982. It consisted of a new-look electric motor and a lead battery and was shaped like half an egg.

The prototype passed crash impact tests with flying colours at the Allianz research centre in Munich.

Streamlined looks: the Pöhlmann EL (Photo: RK)

It has since been further developed and enlarged — for safety's sake — to an overall length of 3.77 metres (12ft 4in).

The car is 1.60 metres (5ft 3in) wide and 1.30 metres (4ft 3in) tall.

In outward appearance the Pöhlmann is an attractive 2 x 2-seater. The technology it incorporates puts it streets ahead of the rest, its designers feel.

The body consists of a high-grade

Continued on page 9

VW's eye-catching new three-wheeler (Photo: VW)

VW Scooter is hit at Geneva motor show

Wolfsburg design engineers have ensured Volkswagen of an eye-catcher at the Geneva motor show with the VW Scooter, a three-wheeler combining the sporting features of a motorcycle and the comfort of a car.

The prototype is described as a study, meaning that Volkswagen have no intention — none at present, that is — of manufacturing and selling the Scooter.

No mention is made of production deadlines or prices. The aim is to illustrate and test what is technically feasible. The prototype merely had to comply with international motor vehicle regulations.

Its two front wheels are powered. The Scooter is 3.17 metres (10ft 5in) long, 1.50 metres (5ft) wide and 1.24 metres (4ft 1in) tall.

The VW Polo is, in comparison, 3.65 metres (12ft) long, 1.58 metres (5ft 2in) wide and 1.35 metres (4ft 5in) tall.

Its aerodynamic design incorporates flush windows, bumpers, headlights and doorhandles. It wind resistance rating is 0.25.

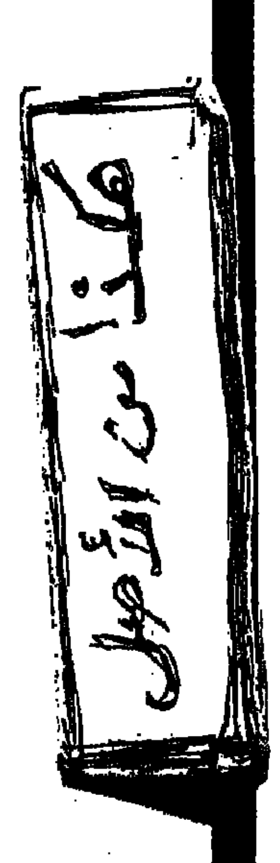
Two engines have been tested, both laterally mounted in front of the front axle and fitted out with a four-speed gearbox.

One is a water-cooled, four-cylinder carburettor engine (1,050cc, 40hp) running on premium grade petrol, the other an injection engine (1,400cc, 90hp) running on super.

They reach top speeds of 160kph (100mph) and over 200kph (125mph).

Fuel consumption is said to be 5.2 litres of premium grade per 100km (55mpg) and 6.1 litres of super (46mpg).

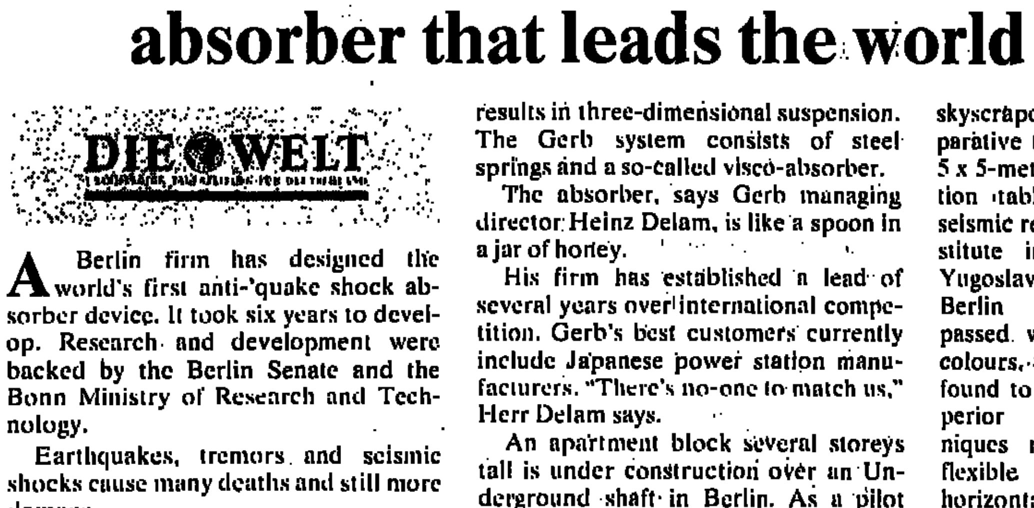
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 1 March 1986)



■ TECHNOLOGY

Berlin firm makes quakeproof shock absorber that leads the world

DIE WELT



A Berlin firm has designed the world's first anti-'quake shock absorber device. It took six years to develop. Research and development were backed by the Berlin Senate and the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology.

Earthquakes, tremors and seismic shocks cause many deaths and still more damage.

Vertical and horizontal movement of the ground has a powerful effect on the inert mass of buildings not designed to withstand such pressures. They often vibrate, are intensified and damage or make the building collapse.

The 'quake risk to buildings and industrial plant has often been underrated in Europe. It is only taken into serious consideration in connection with nuclear power stations.

As the frequencies of foundations fitted with shock absorbers of the kind illustrated are often in the same range as seismic tremors (between 2 and 10 hertz) vibration may thus be intensified, calling for lateral shock absorption to offer the vertical "bounce."

The principle is easily explained. Equal vertical and horizontal elasticity results in three-dimensional suspension. The Gerb system consists of steel springs and a so-called visco-absorber.

The absorber, says Gerb managing director Heinz Delam, is like a spoon in a jar of honey.

His firm has established a lead of several years over international competition. Gerb's best customers currently include Japanese power station manufacturers. "There's no-one to match us," Herr Delam says.

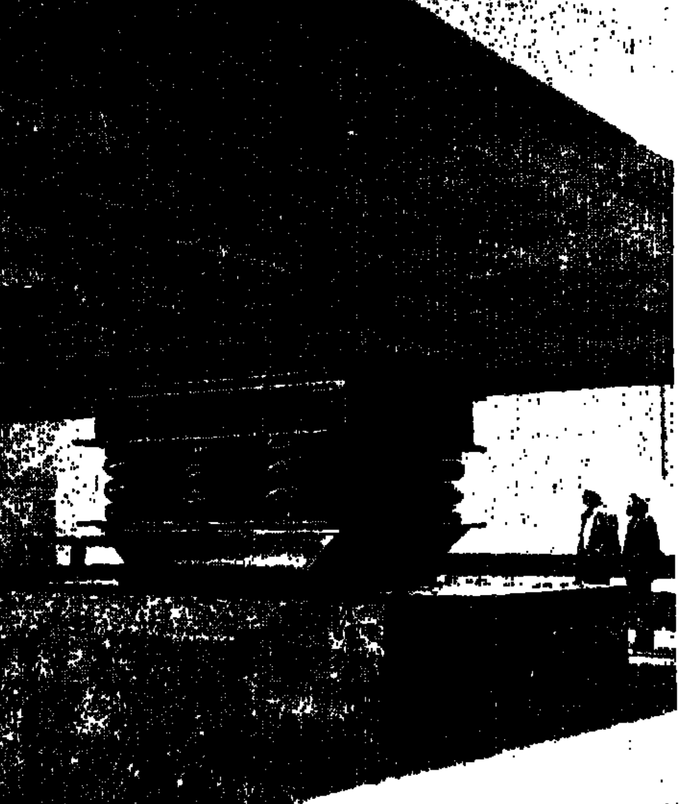
An apartment block several storeys tall is under construction over an Underground shaft in Berlin. As a pilot project it will incorporate Gerb spring shock absorbers to offset the vibration of trains passing underneath.

"My dream, you know," Herr Delam says, "is to be allowed to support and straighten the Leaning Tower of Pisa. But I don't suppose they'll let us."

He is proud of the technological lead Germany has now established. "The Americans," he says, "may have been to the Moon and back, but in vibration technology they are nowhere."

In earthquake danger zones the Berlin technique is seen by many experts as the perfect solution to the problem. Months of trials have shown that buildings can be protected from the effects of the worst known tremors.

Proof that this is technically feasible has been provided by a 35-ton model building looking like the bare bones of a skyscraper. In comparative trials on a 5 x 5-metre vibration table at the seismic research institute in Skopje, Yugoslavia, the Berlin technique passed with flying colours. It was found to be far superior to techniques relying on flexible or rigid horizontal mounting as advocated by Professor Konrad Staudacher of the Swiss Technological University in Zürich. His insulation, using rubber shock absorbers, is no match for the combined effect of the Berlin technique.



Turbine shock absorber at Grohnde power station (Photo: GERB)

"What is so odd about our products is that although we can forecast the safety of buildings incorporating them we have yet to be able to test them in practice," says Herr Delam.

But, he adds, maybe that's just as well. He would sooner rely on theoretical claims than be able to say "I told you so" after an earthquake.

His Berlin works were enlarged last year to include a 1,200-square-metre research facility costing DM3m.

Gerb has a payroll of 200 engineers, mechanics and electronics specialists; 110 work in Berlin and 30 at a works in Essen in the Ruhr.

Gerb handles design, manufacture, assembly and site construction. Eighty per cent of production is exported.

Herr Delam relies on cooperation with university research as a matter of course. His firm is in constant touch with the technological universities in Hanover and Berlin.

Most mechanical engineering firms used to rule out any idea of mounting machinery on suspension units; it had to be firmly based in concrete foundations.

But insulation gradually gained ground as increasing precision was required and machinery had to be shielded from vibration from other parts of the factory or from outside, such as heavy traffic.

Machinery has come to create increasingly powerful vibration. Rotary printing machinery runs so fast that the very foundations shake.

Blowers, steam and milling machinery, compressors, diesel engines, missile testbeds and even elevators can and must be vibration-free.

"That," Herr Delam says, "is why some firms have decided to use our shock absorbers to insulate machinery even against the manufacturer's advice because otherwise the machinery could not have been taken into service."

Made-to-measure spring suspension units such as are supplied as anti-'quake devices are suitable to rule out vibration with any item of machinery, from scales weighing only a few kilograms to heavy machinery weighing several thousand tonnes.

But there is one limitation. Vibration frequency must not be lower than 2.5 hertz. Below this level insulation is virtually impossible.

Dieter Thierbach

(Die Welt, Bonn, 18 February 1986)

Continued from page 8

steel framework and glass fibre-reinforced plastic. Its unladen weight (without battery) is about 850kg (1,870lbs). Its wind resistance rating is below 0.3.

Its power unit may use nothing but tried and tested components, but is based on a concept that differs from the rest (with a single motor) and for which RWE holds German and foreign patents.

Each rear wheel is powered by a direct current shunt-wound electric motor operating a toothed belt.

The accelerator works an electronic device that has the same effect as a differential in cornering and on slippery surfaces.

Performance naturally depends on the batteries. Two Pöhlmann ELs are on trial. One has 12 lead batteries weighing 580kg (1,276lbs). It has a top speed of 115kph (72mph) and a range of 55km (34 miles) in town and 80km (50 miles) in the countryside.

The other has 15 French nickel-iron batteries arranged in series to equal the others' 90 volts. They pack twice the power and weigh only 380kg (836lbs).

This version has a top speed of 125kmh (78mph) and a range of 115km (72 miles) in town and 160km (100 miles) in the countryside.

So it can run the risk of making short hops outside town. Its nickel-iron batteries are good for 1,500-2,000 recharges corresponding to 120,000-160,000km (75,000-100,000 miles) logged.

Attractive though this version's performance may be, it shares with other battery-powered cars the disadvantage of being far too expensive.

Lead batteries are expensive enough, but the nickel-iron batteries are twice the price because of their nickel electrodes (which can, however, be reused).

Even with a long run a set of batteries must be expected to cost at least DM10,000, which means that even in series production the car would cost at least DM30,000.

Rudolf Weber

(Die Welt, Bonn, 8 March 1986)

■ ART

Three Kokoschka exhibitions in Hamburg mark artist's birth centenary



Three Oskar Kokoschka exhibitions have opened in Hamburg this month. Vienna is to mount an exhibition of his landscapes and London is planning a lavish retrospective of his works.

In this, his birth centenary year, his significance as an artist is being reassessed.

There is an exhibition entitled The Early Years — 1906 to 1926, in Hamburg's Kunsthalle, featuring drawings and water colours from this period.

In Hamburg's Batighaus an exhibition of his post-1930 prints has opened and in the Hamburg Arts and Crafts Museum his stage designs and illustrations from 1907 to 1980 are on show.

Kokoschka was born in Poechlarn, Austria, in 1886. When an exhibition of young Austrian artists was held in Vienna in 1911 a wave of outrage swept the general public. Unruly talents had made their presence felt.

Archduke Franz Ferdinand pithily commented: "The man ought to have every bone in his body broken."

The man in question was Kokoschka and most critics felt he concocted his colours from poisonous putrefaction, fermenting pathogenic juices.

They complained that he smeared his paint on like cream and let it harden into crusts, encrusted scars.

He painted faces showing the boredom of office life, people with greed for lucre hanging around for their luck to change, according to a review in the Viennese *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

The paper said that admirers of these works were neurasthenics seeking titillation or German obscurants.

Vituperation of this kind against Kokoschka was not new. From the great Vienna art exhibition of 1908 onwards he upset his contemporaries with his expressive and excessive art.

For some time he had had a prejudice against formal and academic rules of art. A critic wrote of him that the Norwegian Edvard Munch was a genial old gentleman compared to Kokoschka.

Sixty years later the scourge of the bourgeois was himself an old man, arguably a Grand Old Man and certainly much in demand for portraits of West German VIPs.

He painted portraits of Theodor Heuss, Ludwig Erhard and Konrad Adenauer. He was loaded with honours and he became a figure in art history.

But he did not become sacrosanct and his early works of rebellion are readily compared with his later works.

The New York art dealer Serge Sabarsky has selected the works shown for the Hamburg Kunsthalle exhibition, as he did, among others, for the Hanover show at the Kestner-Gesellschaft.

More than 50 prints are identical with those displayed previously, but there are some important omissions, particularly the portrait of Alma Mahler.

Kokoschka began his art studies in 1905 at the Vienna art school. Austrian fin de siècle art had woken from its Sleeping Beauty period to its artistic spring. There was an air of euphoria in art circles.

Gustav Klimt was the idol of the younger generation of artists. Kokoschka and Egon Schiele competed with him with their drawings, economic and precise in line.

Kokoschka used material from fairy *tales in the poetic illustrations he created* for his volume of poems The Sleeping Youth.

The figures drawn with hard lines are enclosed in a dream world or surrounded with haloes.

As in most of his poetry Kokoschka deals with man and woman, Eros and impulses, attraction and destruction.

In 1907 he wrote his ecstatic, provocative play entitled Murder - the Hope of Women.

The premiere in 1909 was an uproar. Kokoschka had his head shorn for the occasion so as to show himself as "a marked man."

He presented himself in the same way in a 1912 print on display at the Kunsthalle.

He was also shown on a red-background poster with his face surrounded by barbed-wire and his index finger pointing to a wound in his breast. Kokoschka, the protector of beautiful make-believe, has become its destroyer.

This aggressive phase is hardly ap*parent in the Hamburg Art Gallery exhibition.*

The many figures from his student years are drawn with muted lines, with angular awkwardness and brittleness, stylised and painted in tender and somber colours.

From 1910 onwards his drawings changed. The strokes were sharp, coming together in narrow hatching or they were crinkled.

The number of commissions he received for portraits increased during this period, won for him by the tireless efforts of his friend and sponsor Adolf Loos.

He introduced Kokoschka to Herwarth Walden in Berlin, and ensured that Kokoschka's drawings appeared from then on in Walden's avant-garde magazine *Der Sturm*.

Kokoschka portrayed Loos bent forward slightly with his face in white and red pastel shades.

During this period Kokoschka achieved the height of his artistic style, described as the X-ray look, visionary empathy with his model. He was very proud of this in his later years.

Life in hectic Berlin was in strong contrast to what he had known in Vienna. The atmosphere was busy, exciting. Expressionism was on the way in.

There were mournful idlers with traces of Freud about them. There was decadence lacking in aesthetics. Behind it all the imposing facade was crumbling into decay.

When Kokoschka returned to Vienna he was deeply involved in a love affair with Alma Mahler, widow of the composer, and this affair came to an end.

The outbreak of the First World War came at the right time for Kokoschka. In 1914 he wrote to Franz Marc: "I congratulate you on the distinction of having been accepted to fight for your country."

He was enthusiastic about the work of German artists and the new world view.

He volunteered for service and observed the fighting for a while as though it were some kind of costume play.

Then he came down to earth. He was wounded, disillusioned and in 1919 friends arranged an art college job for him in Dresden.

He wrote in his memoirs, published *in 1971, mingling fact and fiction:* "I could get away with anything in Dresden."

The huge life-size female doll, for instance, that Kokoschka created as a kind of fetish symbol was a true-to-life replica of Alma Mahler who had vanished from his life.

This failed likeness ended up, after a wild party, beheaded on a rubbish dump.

During this period he painted his *Windsbraut*, showing Kokoschka and his beloved Alma united but adrift on the ocean.

During his Dresden years he painted pictures with wide areas of impasto, loud colour.

Then suddenly in 1923 he decided to leave the city that had become too small for him. He travelled considerably, through Europe, to Egypt and Algeria.



Kokoschka, Self-Portrait, 1920

In the early 1920s he produced some beautiful water-colour figures, (they can be seen at the Kunsthalle), then suddenly gave up drawing.

The prolific portrait-painter became a landscape and cityscape artist, giving new dimensions to his field of vision.

His view became panoramic, with a whirlwind of houses and mountains, pictures in which rivers *and valleys* twist and turn. The *colours were* noticeably lighter.

The construction and rhythm of the pictures showed him to be a successor of the Austrian Baroque painters. *In his later years he remained extremely temperamental.*

When Hitler came to power he emigrated, first to Prague and then London. In 1937 the Nazis confiscated 417 Kokoschka works from German galleries and museums.

In painting outdoors he started using ordinary crayons. He was given many commissions for portraits, drew anti-war posters, donated his works to military hospitals and pleaded for tolerance and freedom.

After the war he travelled again and settled in Switzerland. He was wooed by Austria and established an unconventional art school in Salzburg. Here he tried to show that a painter had first to be able to see before he could gain insight.

After 1945 his works, produced from a light palette, were impressionistic whether they were cityscapes or portraits of the famous.

Adenauer was not too pleased with Kokoschka's portrait of the old gentleman with its benign but senile lines.

The once sharply perceptive observer, who laid bare the very nerves of his sitter, became milder in old age and even obliging in his painting.

Kokoschka's later output unquestionably confirms the widely-held belief that painters, like all of us, tend to pass their best in extreme old age.

The artistic force of the early Kokoschka cannot be compared with the later artist. It is true that the theatre sets displayed at the Hamburg Arts and Crafts Museum show he still had something to offer in crayon.

The elderly Kokoschka put onto paper an abundance of bubbling ideas and a gay fantasy world.

But for Kokoschka people, not things were all-important. When he died in 1980 he left behind a rich and varied body of work, masterpieces and pictures that clashed with convention.

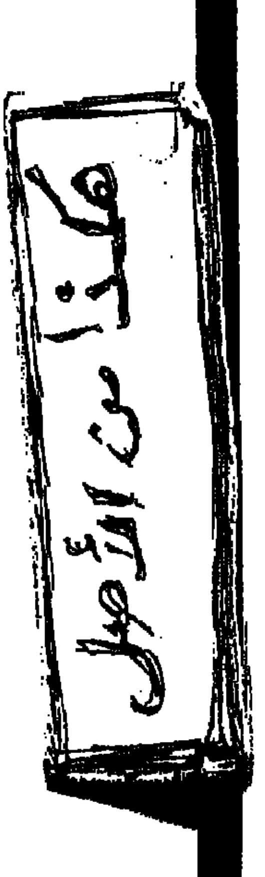
Annette Lettau

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 March 1986)



Kokoschka, The Emigrés, 1917

(Photos: Catalogue)



■ HISTORY

'Shoah' and 'The Holocaust' re-examine Nazi genocide



Shimon Srebnik survived the Nazi holocaust by a coincidence of the kind people tend to classify as miraculous.

On 17 January 1945 he and the last Jews at Chelmno concentration camp were due to be shot. There were 41 of them.

They were led off to be executed in fives. He was one of the first five. He described what happened at the Eichmann trial in 1961.

He heard the shot, felt the blow in his neck and lost consciousness. A few minutes later he regained consciousness when a member of the firing squad passed by.

"I held my breath. He was to think I was dead. I just lay there. Then the next five arrived and were shot. Then the third.

"One soldier was on guard duty to keep an eye on the corpses and finish off those who still showed signs of life."

In the night Srebnik somehow succeeded in emerging from the pile of corpses and escaping. He hid in a shed and was fed by a Polish farmer until the Red Army arrived a few days later.

The Russian doctor who examined him felt he wouldn't survive 12 to 24 hours. He thought the bullet had broken Srebnik's neck.

Shimon Srebnik's tale of survival is one of many about life and death in the holocaust painstakingly collected over the years and now published by British historian Martin Gilbert.

They are the history of European Jews in the Second World War, the detailed account of their annihilation as seen from the victims' viewpoint and narrated from personal experience and suffering.

Gilbert, an Oxford don and the official biographer of Sir Winston Churchill, dealt with the annihilation of the Jews in an earlier work, Auschwitz and the Allies.

In it he looked into the passive attitude adopted by the Allies toward the genocide that was going on in Nazi-occupied Europe.

His latest book describes what it was like. It was published in America last month and is well on its way to becoming a bestseller.

Shimon Srebnik now lives in Israel. In Chelmno he was a 13- or 14-year-old boy who survived until he was finally rescued because he had such a beautiful voice that the SS chose not to send him straight to the gas chamber.

He was 47 when he returned with French film-maker Claude Lanzmann to Chelmno, where he had sung for his life and helped to remove the Jewish dead from the gas chamber and bury them in mass graves for a living.

He is a key figure in Lanzmann's film *Shoah*, premiered in Germany in Berlin and to be screened in four parts on German TV this month.

Shoah isn't a documentary, but it is most definitely a tribute to the memory of millions of victims.

Eye-witnesses are seen remembering what they went through and saw for themselves, ensuring that viewers are unable to do what many would soonest do: forget everything that went on.

Lanzmann shot much of the film on location in Poland: at Treblinka, Auschwitz and Chelmno. He interviewed many Poles, showing Polish anti-Semitism, a dark chapter in the story of Polish suffering during the Third Reich, to be *alive and well*.

Anti-Semitic prejudice survives as a macabre reminder of the past among ordinary people in Polish towns whose names are synonymous with the concentration camps they once housed.

Polish women talk about the good-looking Jewish girls Polish men were mad about, saying they owed their good looks to not working.

"Jewish women did nothing for a living. All they were worried about was their looks. They dressed well. They were rich and the Poles had to wait on them and do the dirty work. All Poland was in Jewish hands."

Given the survival of such blatant prejudice it is easy to see how the Poles were often inhuman in their behaviour toward the persecuted Jews, refusing help and even being to blame for occasional pogroms of the survivors in 1945 and 1946.

Gilbert mentions these post-war Polish pogroms at the end of his book.

There will probably never again be a film like *Shoah*, recalling the past in a four-part TV serial lasting nine and a half hours.

It isn't just that a film like this can't be made twice. There are even simpler biological reasons. Eye-witnesses are growing old. Many have died. Soon they will all have died. So it's now or never; there is very little time left.

This is an argument repeatedly advanced by people who worked on the film. Lanzmann, a former pupil of Jean-Paul Sartre's, could hardly have afforded to delay his comprehensive research for the film a moment longer.

The script has now been published in book form, with a foreword by Simone de Beauvoir and a helpful interview with the director and script-writer as an appendix.

But the German edition, unlike its English counterpart, includes no photos of the people featured in the film. This may underline the independent nature of the book but it is still a loss, given that the film is what counts.

Shoah and *The Holocaust*, nine and a half hours and 959 pages, the film and the book, are twin tributes to the victims.

Lanzmann and Gilbert confront us with unusually forceful memoirs.

The film includes, for instance, the account of Jan Karski, a Polish university professor who now lives in the United States but in 1942 was a courier for the Polish government in exile and made contact with Jewish leaders in the Warsaw ghetto.

He relates how they beseeched him to tell the world about Hitler's war in a war, his campaign to annihilate the Jews. (Lanzmann's film also includes interviews with SS guards, no less impressive in their macabre way.)

The book tells the tale of Zwi Michalowski, 16, from a Lithuanian ghetto, who was due to be executed together with over 3,000 other Jews on 27 September 1941.

He leapt into the open grave he and the others were ordered to stand in front of a fraction of a second before the firing squad fired.

That night he scrambled out of the mass grave and sought help in the nearest village, where Christians he knew lived.

Naked and bathed in others' blood, he knocked at the first farmer's door. The farmer shone a flashlight he had plundered in the ghetto at him and said: "Jew, go back to the grave where you belong."

He was turned away by several others. In the end, in desperation, he told an old widow:

"I am the Lord, Jesus Christ. I have come down from the Cross. Look at me, the blood, the pain, the suffering of the innocent. Let me in."

The old lady was shocked, crossed herself, knelt at the boy's feet and prayed, Gilbert writes, telling Michalowski's story.

She hid him for three days until he had recovered. Then he left for the woods where he survived as a partisan.

Werner A. Perger

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 March 1986)

Claude Lanzmann, Shoah, with a foreword by Simone de Beauvoir, Claassen-Verlag, Düsseldorf, 279pp., DM24.80.

Martin Gilbert, The Holocaust. A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War, Holt Rinehart & Winston, New York, 959pp., $24.95.



Polish railwayman at Treblinka: 'The smell was unbearable without a full ration of schnapps,' he recalls. (Photo: WDR)

■ EDUCATION

Herdecke music therapy helps disturbed kids

General-Anzeiger

Music is used by therapists at Herdecke Hospital in the Ruhr to help disturbed children with problems at school.

The technique used at the hospital, a private clinic run by followers of Rudolf Steiner (see the story on Steiner and Waldorf schools in *The German Tribune* No. 1218), is the Nordoff Robbins method.

One patient music has helped is Peter, who was 10 when his difficulties began. He had trouble keeping up with the class at school.

He had no friends. The other children made fun of him. He was difficult at home. His parents, brothers and sisters could make neither head nor tail of him.

Unlike many others in his situation he didn't end up at a school for the educationally sub-normal. He underwent music therapy at Herdecke.

His treatment is now over. It has helped him to come to terms with himself and to handle problems that arise during the school day.

The Nordoff Robbins method was devised about 20 years by an American composer. Little known in Germany, it came about by coincidence.

At a concert for handicapped children the pianist and staff were amazed to see how children otherwise lethargic and unresponsive were fascinated by the music.

The Herdecke music therapists are still fascinated by the effect. "I completely forget the handicap," one says. "All that counts is how to reach the child via music."

Lutz Neugebauer is a graduate in music therapy and works at the hospital. Unlike most analysts, he works non-verbally. The child can choose its own instrument to play.

Music, he says, is an extremely direct approach and particularly effective where people can't be reached verbally.

Neugebauer, 26, doesn't work on the assumption that illness on the one hand is faced by normal health on the other and that the handicapped child must be brought back to normal.

He wonders what is normal for the particular child.

How can music get handicapped children to evolve new structures and open up new sectors of experience? A sign of success is when a child that has been nothing but loud, abrupt and chaotic suddenly develops a different approach.

Peter was a model patient. Two Herdecke music therapists describe his case in a specialist journal.

At the first session he went straight for the instruments and played chaotically and without a break, ignoring the music improvised by his therapist.

But at times he kept to the rhythm of the accompaniment, so at least he was aware of it. Even so, he was unable to associate what he was playing with the music he heard played by his therapist.

Gradually he was taught to stay in rhythm. But flexibility in tempo and dynamics was also aimed at.

Initially he couldn't even coordinate his hands to beat a drum. When he tried to use both hands they collided, as it were. After the course of therapy he was able to follow a wide range of rhythmic patterns.

At the same time he showed striking *signs of improvement in everyday life.* He was better at arithmetic. He could write more legibly. He even did his homework on his own.

He was no longer an outside in the school playground either. And it was all achieved without medication. He attended a single 25-minute music therapy session a week for four months.

At a later stage a further five sessions were felt to be necessary.

The article on his case, including musical notation to illustrate his progress, says: "This case shows how work on musical structure affects inner structures of perception, experience and ability to give shape and contour to things.

"Man experiences his environment as himself by means of perception. As an active individual he enters into a relationship with it."

There are far more difficult, not to say hopeless cases than Peter, particularly at Herdecke. Music is very revealing; it also reveals the extent of a handicap.

The Nordoff Robbins therapy has shown that physical or mental illness gives rise to specific variations in musical expression.

Music therapy is provided both to patients in hospital and for outpatients at Herdecke. It is also provided in psychiatry and internal medicine.

Patients suffering from anorexia are now being given music therapy in a full-scale documentary report with data on treatment and progress.

Music therapy can be used to treat a wide range of complaints. But music therapists are rare birds and financing treatment is not always easy.

Yet time will tell. Curing people with music rather than medication is surely a step in the right direction and should be given every encouragement.

There is a society to promote the technique in Herdecke and music therapy has been taught at Witten-Herdecke private university since last April.

Barbara Frandsen

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 1 March 1986)

Düsseldorf emergency switchboard aids children — and parents

Well over half the people who dial the emergency phone number of the *Kinderschutzbund*, or Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in Düsseldorf are adults.

"The key is under the doormat. Please look after my child. I'm committing suicide," one caller said. She added her address. Then the line went dead.

Edeltraud Herzer, 46, of the Düsseldorf emergency switchboard drove straight to the address. She and a psychologist succeeded, in the middle of the night, in finding the desperate mother.

She had taken an overdose of sleeping pills but was rushed to hospital, where her life was saved. Her child spent a while with foster-parents.

"That wasn't the last we had to do with the case," Frau Herzer recalls. "We maintained contact with mother and child. Conversations are often a great help."

Emergency calls are not always so dramatic. Callers are often young adults. "Well over half our 700 callers a year are over 18," Frau Herzer says.

Many are single parents suffering from loneliness, financial difficulties and unemployment. This combination mostly means they can no longer cope with the children either.

"Problems are often handled at the child's expense," says Rene Heinersdorff of the society's advisory council.

Adults who no longer know what to do and realise they have a problem are the switchboard's most frequent category of client.

"Relations with other people are definitely the main problem, for children as well as adults," says Ralf Nafroth, the society's North Rhine-Westphalian business manager and national spokesman for the emergency switchboards.

The first unhappy love affair can floor 12-year-olds, and often enough they don't really want to tell their parents all about it. "The switchboard person is someone who gives them a hearing and ensures anonymity."

The *Kinderschutzbund* has branches in nearly every large town in the Republic. Emergency switchboards may be in another town, but all calls are charged as local calls.

"The 16 emergency switchboards in North Rhine-Westphalia are manned by *Kinderschutzbund* staff with psychological training," Herr Nafroth says.

"The first switchboards were set up in the 1970s when we began to realise that ordinary advice facilities were simply not enough."

The Düsseldorf switchboard is manned round the clock. Edeltraud Herzer has been a member of staff for eight years. Some callers are regulars, she says.

"My first caller was one of the toughest. It was a boy who had run away from home."

He is now [illegible] still rings regularly "to tell me how he is getting on. He says he simply can't forget the number."

Frau Herzer has no sure cure for her callers' ills. "It always depends on the circumstances of the case," she says. [illegible] tell a great deal about someone just from hearing his voice on the telephone."

A child very seldom rings to say it is beaten by its parents. "Neighbours, friends or relations ring and tell us, and we then try to solve the problem by talking with the parents."

Children who ring often have trouble with poor grades in maths or with a boy or girl with whom the path of true love fails to progress as hoped.

What does Frau Herzer advise? "I try to make the children pluck up the courage to talk with their parents or with the boy or girl they have fallen for."

She and her colleagues try to boost the callers' self-confidence by saying for instance: "I'll be thinking of when you write that exam paper."

Kids often ring back the next day and

Continued on page 13

■ WOMEN

Tutzing conference probes discrimination against women graduates

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Downhill for Women after Graduation was the subject of a conference at the Protestant Academy in Tutzing, Bavaria, and it was more than a calculated provocation.

Statistics show it is often the reality. Unemployment among women graduates is higher than an entire year's intake of women undergraduates at German universities.

Last September 55,886 women with technical or university qualifications were registered as unemployed. In 1983 about 49,200 women graduated.

One 29-year-old unemployed geographer, despite her good grades, is quite pessimistic about her prospects after a year out of work.

"I can forget ever working in my profession. This year has cost me any chance I might have stood," she says.

Like other married women graduates she is tied to a neighbourhood. Finding a job as a geographer means looking nationwide.

"My husband has at last found work after a year's searching," she says, "so I have to stay here. I wonder what my future holds, I am hoping to have a child in the next year or two."

The figures of the Federal Labour Office confirm that job prospects for women are worsening. In 1985 around 7 per cent more women were unemployed than in the previous year.

This figure does not reflect unregistered women who have returned to a family role.

Labour exchange departments handling professional people are finding it more difficult to find jobs for women than for men.

In 1984 women made up 43 per cent of degree-holding job hunters. But only 29 per cent were successful.

Maria-Theres Tinnefeld of the German Women's Bar Association in Munich says:

"The much propagated thesis that a better education equals better work prospects is undoubtedly false."

It is also wrong to say that women have worse grades or qualifications. In secondary schools the girls do better than the boys. In the universities women make up 37.9 per cent of current semesters.

Recently the president of the Brunswick Supreme Court, Rudolf Wassermann, anxiously reported that women do better in their university final exams than men.

If the German judiciary insists on taking on the best students then women will soon be a majority in the profession, which he finds disturbing.

Women have it harder in the job market where grades criteria are not crucial for the job. The latest government youth report bluntly concludes:

"The better and broader qualifications of girls and young women are being ignored by the job market."

Better qualifications and a longer education often lead to a particular discrimination.

Qualified women academics are relatively old in comparison with other women, usually between 25 to 30. The probability of them wanting a child after starting a job is greater.

So employers prefer to give responsible, highly paid jobs to men. They also believe that women will be less successful in the tough male dominated academic world.

Ingrid Biermann and Lindy Ziebell of Bielefeld University have examined whether women with degrees have returned to a domestic "alternative" role because of unemployment.

They found that none of the women interviewed were planning to have a child. Says Lindy Ziebell:

"Many women wanting children see themselves forced into a position where deciding freely is more difficult, and many are forced to say they don't want children so as not to prejudice their job prospects."

For many the idea of gaining work experience to make job re-entry easier later, after having children, is never put into practice.

One unemployed sociologist interviewed expressed her dilemma like this:

"If I were to have children now my professional ambitions would have to lose priority. I would consciously face the prospect of never getting a job."

This means, in principle, deciding against a family, an undesirable step for most women graduates interviewed. The women are not content to make a second-hand career out of supporting their husbands' ones.

But that is the destiny many face. At university they have already chosen a highly-qualified career-minded mate. This means a life of living in his shadow.

Munich sociologist Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim says:

"Being a career man is a one-and-a-half-person job. What successful man has time to go shopping, to wash up or to look after the children's upbringing?

"He leaves such matters to his domestic manageress. She allows him to concentrate on higher goals."

Such women often end up being bitter. Sofia Tolstoy, wife of the great Russian novelist, wrote in her journal:

"He unloaded every burden on to me, the responsibility for the children, for the estate, for financial matters, for all material things . . .

"I have no private life, cannot read, play or reflect; it was always so, what kind of a life is this?"

Lack of alternatives has produced a similar reality for many women.

Few women make it to the top. The highest category of university professorship in Germany is held by only 238 women. They are outnumbered by 9,387 men.

A report published by the German Unesco Commission says that chances for women are better than they were 10 years ago.

But if they get jobs, they usually halt at middle management level, a position from which most male careers take off.

And what happens if a woman despite all the obstacles succeeds in entering the profession for which she has studied?

One woman who reached an executive post in a medium-sized business answers with a mixture of pride and bitterness:

"I have a career, but when you work 14 hours a day in an office you lead a lonely private life."

She devoted herself to her career, then her long-time partnership broke up. Like many successful women, she has found that in the male career world the private sphere doesn't count.

Frau Beck-Gernsheim says women, unlike men, cannot rely on domestic support to make the grade in their careers.

"It is hard for a woman to find a house-husband to take over the domestic chores," she says.

It can thus work against women that they have no house-manager. It affects performance. Employers would sooner employ a supported man than an unsupported woman.

The aim of women at the conference was not to emulate the male career pattern. They didn't want to choose between a career or a family.

Empirical research shows the vast majority of younger women to agree with them in calling for the integration of family and profession.

However, for academics it is particularly difficult tpo integrate the two. Part-time secretarial work is easier to come by than a job as a PhD chemist.

If chemists want to have a family, then later re-entry into professional life is difficult. Employers assume they have lost contact with developments.

In the long run only the creation of attractive part-time positions which also make such a step palatable to men can solve the dilemma for highly qualified women in executive positions.

The Tutzing conference realised that was not possible for all positions. However, Maria-Theres Tinnefeld of the Bar Association says:

"One can surely narrow down the number of positions which can be perceived as full-time."

No jobs for the girls

A working party imagined how the future might look. "The working population will be divided into part-time, *family people and full-time*, career ones. The division into the family woman and the career man will go."

However, it was stressed that women had to strive for positions which could give them the power to make the working environment more hospitable to woman and family.

The catchword "intervention" became as much a central idea as "the way into the institutions."

How, however can women find a way into the institutions? The statistics show a good education is not enough.

Annette Kuhn, professor of history at Bonn University, says universities can be changed only by a rigid quota system. Quotas would reserve a certain amount of positions exclusively for women.

A commission of enquiry into Woman and Society set up by the Bonn Bundestag recommends job quota regulations.

It describes a quota regulation system as a reliable and effective way that does not contravene constitutional guarantees of freedom of action and private autonomy.

Erika Ludwig, personnel manager at Heimann, a subsidiary of Siemens, confirms that promotion plans and quotas for women are rare in German industry.

"One finds signs of that mostly in subsidiaries of American comptinies," she says.

An indication that quotas can be introduced in the civil service if there is a will to do so can be seen in an advertisement in *Die Zeit*.

Hesse Environment Minister Joschka Fischer was looking for an adviser on environmental affairs. He wrote:

"Women with the necessary qualifications will be given preference, as will handicapped applicants."

Christine Broll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 7 March 1986)

Continued from page 12

say: "Thanks. It was a great help to feel you kept your fingers crossed for me."

Where sexual problems [illegible]tion are concerned (and they often are), she consults experts.

"We collaborate closely with the municipal youth department and family planning clinics, but we never divulge our callers' identity. We aren't an official agency in any way. And we never reveal personal data or secrets callers tell us."

Frau Herzer isn't superhuman. "I feel I've always found the right words in the past," she says, "but I can't guarantee for the future."

She stops to think for a moment, then says with an air of certainty: "If I only really help one child a month, then it's all been worth while."

Eva Goris

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 7 March 1986)

■ PEOPLE

Escaped German POW comes clean after 40 years



Georg Gärtner and his wife Jean (Photo: AP)

Georg Gärtner, alias Dennis Whiles, Germany's last surviving Second World War POW can now breathe easily again. For 40 years he lived under false identities in the USA in permanent fear of being discovered.

Despite getting married, he kept his secret from his wife. Over the years the mother of two grew suspicious of his mysterious past. To save his marriage he decided to come clean.

Now a 65-year-old veteran of Rommel's Africa Corps, he has just spent a week in Germany with his sister in Brunswick.

The now world-famous escapee from an American prison camp speaks English with a slight accent and broken German.

He says he would like to keep both identities and spend six months a year in both countries.

He decided to risk a visit to his sister after being issued with a German passport by the German consulate in San Francisco.

He arrived on the day the story broke on German television. Since then the POW from Schweidnitz in Silesia has been bombarded with questions.

He has explained how he survived so long with false identities; how he avoided FBI wanted posters; and how he did lots of jobs without raising suspicion.

He said he borrowed his alias from a real-life friend.

Gärtner says his born acting talent gift for trickery enabled him to overcome many sleepless nights. He stresses the luck he had over the years. On several occasions the police or the FBI stopped him but never in connection with his past.

In New York he told the authorities he was an orphan and under his parents' name managed to get a green card. Only his wife began to suspect.

She says now however that her marriage is happier than ever. His stepdaughter Cheryl, 38, and stepson Marc, 34, are also happier about the situation.

He told his relatives his reading over the years had given him a negative impression of Germany and his Silesian homeland with which he could not identify.

He thought his relatives were dead and saw no reason to return home. Since being here he has found Brunswick, Hamburg, Hanover, Frankfurt and Cologne to be like American cities.

For the rest of his stay he wants to visit old POW pals. He has already made contact with survivors of the 33rd Africa Corps division.

He is very keen to visit Stuttgart Mayor Manfred Rommel, son of the legendary Field-Marshal Erwin Rommel.

At the end of March his wife Jean and daughter will join him on his three-month stay. They intend to visit Schweidnitz, his birthplace in Silesia.

He says his third, fear-free life lies ahead. Nobody will bother him any more.

Ewald Revermann

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 6 March 1986)



Reinhold Polutta (Photo: ...)

Schleswig pastor holds divine services for the deaf

Pastor Reinhard Polutta's congregation are deaf or nearly deaf people. So he dispenses with choirs, organs and the liturgical part of his service. But he does not lose sight of their spiritual needs.

In order to facilitate understanding of his message, he translates with sign-language. Signs, gestures and facial expressions convey the Bible's strong verbal imagery.

To enable people at the rear of the church to see his gestures he preaches beneath 1,000-watt lights directed at the congregation.

He spends a lot of time preparing his texts to make them accessible for the deaf. His sermons last only 10 minutes to avoid overtaxing their concentration.

He uses the time to get his message across and to insure they leave with more than just a pious feeling.

A pilot scheme providing a clergyman for the deaf was introduced in 1978. It is the only such full-time post in the North Elbe diocese.

Pastor Polutta, who trained as a mechanic and later as a theologian, applied and got the job.

During his studies he kept contact with society's outsiders. He worked as a prison chaplain and also with slow learners. The opportunity of working with the deaf came as a great challenge.

He attended student lectures in the mornings at the Schleswig school for the deaf, in the afternoons he taught at a school for slow learners.

His close contact with the deaf enabled him to pick up sign-language. It itself is still not standardised, consisting of mutually agreed upon gestures which have given rise to local dialects.

The pastor has mastered these and often acts as interpreter between the deaf and the non-deaf.

The hard years of building up contact with the afflicted are over. People come from the surrounding areas of Schleswig, Angeln and Flensburg to consult him for advice and exchange information.

Those for whom the distance to his vicarage is too far can use a ... phone. This keyboard telephone replaces acoustic signals with optical ones. Messages can be keyed into a typewriter and read off at the other end.

About 500 people in his area are connected up and are no longer isolated.

Polutta also advises on non-religious matters. If the deaf come into conflict with landlords, neighbours or authorities he makes his skills available.

He sees his duties embracing body and soul. He says he has to find out where problems may arise...

How else, he asks, can a deaf ... know the irritating effect of running water at 2 a.m.?

Kirsten Han...

(Kieler Nachrichten, 26 February ...)

Retired diplomat works at leprosy clinic

A former German ambassador to Switzerland, Gerhard Fischer, has been hailed as Dropout of the Year. But he feels the title is misleading. He sees himself more as a frontline fighter against leprosy.

The ex-diplomat with the impeccable career retired a year early to work with Dr Elisabeth Vomstein at her leprosy clinic in South India and would prefer to see Sister Elisabeth receiving media attention.

A doctor from Schliengen, near Lörrach, has been in charge of the leprosy clinic in Settipatty, near Madras, for 25 years.

Gerhard Fischer has been a medical dogsbody there since the beginning of the year.

When Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister Lothar Späth visited Bangalore while travelling through Asia, Fischer introduced him to Dr Vomstein.

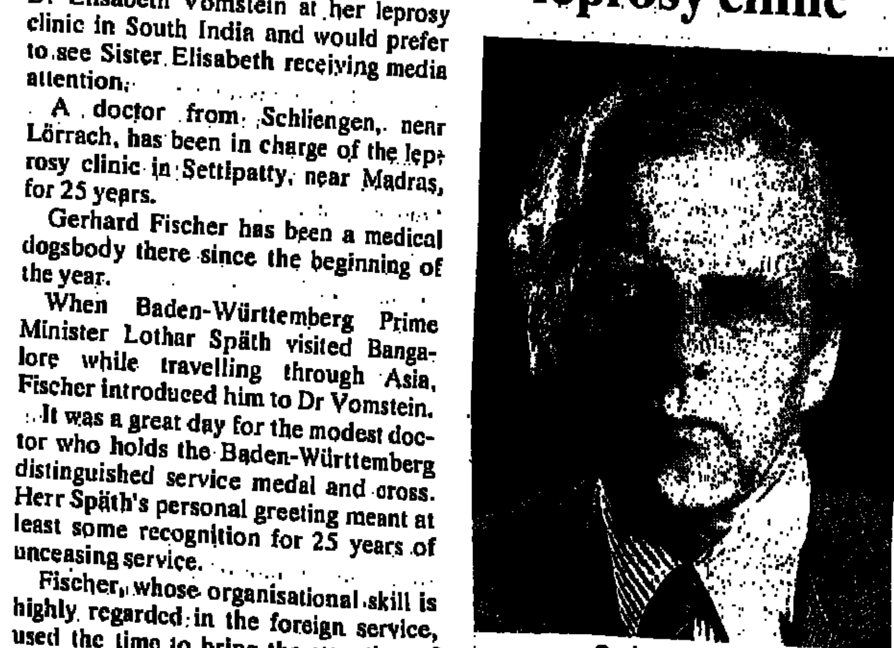
It was a great day for the modest doctor who holds the Baden-Württemberg distinguished service medal and cross. Herr Späth's personal greeting meant at least some recognition for 25 years of unceasing service.

Fischer, whose organisational skill is highly regarded in the foreign service, used the time to bring the attention of delegation members to the urgent needs of the clinic's 15 outpatient stations and 7,000 patients.

Sister Elisabeth has no religious order behind her to provide financial backing. Fischer hopes through his commitment to bridge this gap at least to some extent.

He has compiled a long list of urgent requirements. A shoe repair facility is needed. There is no poultry farm or even the simplest of tools to grow crops.

The ex-ambassador proudly mentions that a children's ward is already in operation.



Gerhard Fischer (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

The 64-year-old diplomat's last official posting was in Berne, the Swiss capital. He used his farewell calls to tell fellow-diplomats about his plans in Settipatty.

He said he would prefer cash donations to his leprosy clinic rather than farewell presents. His told Swiss business acquaintances a complete water supply system would cost about 20,000 francs.

He paid for his own ticket to India. He is on a tourist visa and will initially stay there for three months.

He will avoid the strenuous heat, particularly in the summer, by returning to Europe.

While there he will promote understanding of the leprosy problem by lecturing and other activities, and raise money.

Then he will return to Sattipatty, where his job is "to handle whatever turns up."

Being a trained nurse, he can help Dr Vomstein with the demanding aftercare of patients.

He can also assist greatly in driving the sick with the Land Rover over the rugged roads to the hospital.

His new job is the fulfillment of a childhood dream. Originally he wanted to study medicine, but the war came along.

After the war there were no places at medical college so he settled for law. After graduating, in 1952, he joined the foreign service.

His postings included Hong Kong, Dublin, The Hague and Addis Ababa. He was head of the German consulate in Madras from 1960 to 1964.

It was there that he met Dr Vomstein. She started running the Settipatty clinic in 1961. She made a tremendous impression on him. The two, matched in age, remained in close contact.

He offered help whenever he could. As the years passed the idea ripened within him to return to India and organise aid rather than retire to his lakeside home in Bavaria.

He hopes for some time yet to be a "wanderer between two worlds."

Peter Reinhardt

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 February 1986)

■ MODERN LIVING

Women make men ill, says lady mayor

Professor Waltraut Kruse 60, mayor of Aachen, recently organised the 11th West German Psychotherapy Seminar in Aachen, attended by 1,200 doctors, psychologists and psychotherapists. Sexual equality was a major issue dealt with at the seminar.

Many men are not reconciled to the changed male and female roles in personal relationships and in society.

They suffer from an "emancipation malady," according to views widely expressed at the seminar.

The resulting conflicts lead to heart disorders, migraine, depression, insomnia and failure in their sex lives.

Men who still play the role of family patriarch have difficulties, but they are not alone.

The "new men," those who try to come to terms with equality within their marriages, have problems.

Professor Kruse, herself a psychotherapist, said: "Males who play the patriarch role cannot cope when they are suddenly pushed to their limits and are to some extent dethroned."

She continued: "Younger men have indeed accepted their new role, but they are made uncomfortable by the imbalance in the change. The pressing demands made by women professionally and sexually cause a lot of trouble."

Aggressive women's libbers increase the difficulties men experience, according to Professor Kruse.

"Relationships can only evolve healthily when common sense prevails between men and women," she said.

She sees the ideally emancipated man as one who is more patient, more flexible, more feeling and more prepared to adjust than the non-emancipated male.

"He can even weep. Young men have in fact acquired a few female qualities, just as young women have become a little manly," she explained.

The male is frequently not the only bread-winner in the family, and often not the one to have the last word in family matters.

Women today repair the washing machine and the children's bikes, just like father used to do.

For the man, these days, everything is called into doubt. Nothing is a matter of course. His word is no longer law, and problems are more often than not discussed by the family as a whole.

Many men have had the rug pulled from under them. They opt out and yield to conflicts that inhibit them from making decisions at all.

Professor Kruse, who has four sons, said she doubted if she would like to be a man these days.

How can men suffering from this "emancipation malady" be cured? Certainly not with pills and tablets, Professor Kruse said.

She wants to explore the emotional and psychological sources.

She believes that men should attend group therapy sessions and in discussions with psychologists get to recognise the problems they experience in their male roles.

Often during treatment it is necessary for the whole family to be involved.

Hamburger Abendblatt asked Hamburg psychologist Dr Dorothee Wienand-Kranz, 40, how she felt about "the new male." She said that she did not believe men were made ill because of female emancipation.

She said it was because men did not talk about their feelings but kept them pent up inside that they became mentally sick.

Dr Wienand-Kranz, who works at Hamburg University department of psychology, said: "The woman's new role has made men feel uncertain of themselves, but that can be treated."

Horst Zimmermann

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 21 February 1986)



Waltraut Kruse (Photo: dpa)

Maintenance man-to-man

A divorced man must still pay his ex-wife maintenance even if she has a sex change.

A Munich court refused to accept a man's appeal that he ought no longer to be liable for his former wife's maintenance "because she was on the way to becoming a man."

They were married in 1977 and divorced two years later, with the husband agreeing to pay maintenance.

Later the woman, who since her youth had been very masculine and identified with the opposite sex, had hormone treatment and her breasts removed.

In 1984 a court gave approval for her to take a man's name. This was too much for her former husband and he went to court about the maintenance.

An upper court has now thrown out his appeal against a lower court decision.

The judge ruled that the woman had not dealt "unfairly" with her former husband and the sex change she was undergoing was not illegal.

There was no question of her taking up an immoral way of life, nor was she responsible for the break-up of the marriage.

She was also not living with another person in a sexual relationship for personal gain.

The judge said it was not unreasonable that she should continue to receive maintenance.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 28 February 1986)

Legless Turk is offered help

The Bavarian Red Cross has revealed that a man with amputated legs illegally crossed the West German-Austrian frontier in a wheelchair.

Mehmet Aydin, 31, from Adana in Turkey, crossed over into Bavaria near Bad Reichenhall, aided by his brother-in-law, aged 14, at a night temperature of minus 15 deg...

The two were caught on a lonely woodland path by West German customs officials and were both deported.

They had no money and wanted to beg to get cash for artificial legs. Aydin had lost his in a road accident.

The Red Cross is now looking for them both. It has offered him artificial legs and maintenance in Munich while he is having medical treatment.

The West German consulate in Salzburg refused to give Aydin a visa because he had no money and consular officials suspected he wanted to enter the country to work illegally.

The Bavarian frontier police have promised that when Aydin is found he will be given special permission to take up the Red Cross offer in Munich.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 February 1986)

Mother's milk appeal for baby

Moritz, aged 15 months, suffers [illegible] milk. He can only take mother's milk. Baby foods give him diarrhoea and stomach ache.

After an appeal dozens of nursing mothers in the Goslar area came forward to donate their milk to him.

He began to suffer from the allergy soon after birth. At three months he developed a severe skin disorder. A little later he suffered from poor digestion.

As soon as he had been fed he regularly developed the stomach pains. He lost weight and his life was endangered.

It was then discovered that Moritz could only be breast fed. He needed a litre of breast milk per day.

His mother had ceased to breast feed him a few weeks after his birth, and so [illegible] The nearest medical college could not provide so much mother's milk per day, so his parents appealed to the general public.

An appeal in the local newspaper resulted in dozens of nursing mothers coming forward to help the child.

His father organised a daily "mother's milk-round" to fetch the donated milk.

The illness is very rare, with only one other case known, in Oklahoma, USA.

Doctors are not yet certain how long Moritz will be dependent on mother's milk.

They seem to think that when he is two his digestive system will be able to accept baby foods.

Matthias Brunnert

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 14 February 1986)

Bank dumps notes on rubbish tip

A dustman discovered bundles of banknotes among empty tin cans, waste paper and egg shells at the central tip in Saarlouis.

A search immediately brought DM7,000 in notes to light from among the rubbish.

The police discovered that inadvertently two bundles of hundred-mark notes totalling DM20,000 were thrown into a local bank's waste-paper basket and then into the rubbish container that was unloaded at the central rubbish dump.

The search for notes in the massive piles of rubbish is continuing.

A spokesman for the bank said that the search was a terrible job but there was no way round it.

He said that the bundles were accidentally thrown into the waste-paper basket in the Friday evening rush.

The cashier discovered the loss of the DM20,000 that evening but it was only on the following Monday that the money was found to have been thrown into the waste-paper basket and carted away in the bank's rubbish container.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 5 February 1986)

Fast food said to strip jungle

Fast foods are damaging the rain forests of Latin America, according to the FDP environmental protection spokesman in the Saar state assembly.

Norbert Wagner said in Saarbrücken that 60 per cent of these forests had been converted to grazing land for cattle, for beef, for hamburgers.

He said small farms were being swallowed up by giant cattle ranches to meet the enormous export demand for minced meat from restaurant chains all over the world.

This, he said, led to a "brutal change in agricultural structures."

He also pointed out that these changes affected the earth's ability to store water.

There was flooding during heavy rains and drought during dry periods, resulting in a decline in domestic food production for home consumption.

He went on to explain that people in Brazil were affected not only by cattle-rearing in Latin America but also in the European Community.

He explained that European beef production for hamburgers is based on soybean production in Brazil.

Fertilizers to the value of $475m and insecticides worth $16m had to be purchased annually for soybean cultivation, a drain on the country's foreign currency reserves.

Hans-Helmut Kohl

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 February 1986)

Ignore this sign

Snow-covered traffic signs can be disregarded by motorists, according to the West German motoring association, ADAC.

They are not obliged to stop the car, brush off the snow so as to read them.

The exception is the stop sign that can be recognised by its eight-sided shape.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 February 1986)